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5 November 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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5 November 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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SPECIALIZED WARSAW PACT NAVAL VESSELS DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German No 7, Jul 84 pp 374-379

[Article by Siegfried Breyer: "Little Known Vessels of the Warsaw Pact Naval Forces"]

[Text] Landing Vessels

With the ONDATRA class a new typ of amphibious vessels was developed in the Soviet Union, apparently as replacement for the obsolete landing craft of the T-4 class. It is designed to be housed in the docking space of the large landing ships of the ROGOV class and shows the same external features as the obsolete T-4 class: front door ramp, open loading space (sufficient for one battle tank) and a bridge with mast in the stern.

Guard Vessels

The fact that the Border Security Troops of the KGB use Navy ships and vessels for patrol duty can be assumed to be sufficiently well-known. The most modern of these are the frigates of the GRISHA-II class. Two classes of Navy tugboats are used in waters with extreme weather conditions. These are, first, units of the OKHTENSKY class originating from the 1960's, and second, the somewhat younger SORUM class. Common to both is the armament, which is missing on the units sailing as tugboats in the Navy. The OKHTENSKY-class units used as patrol ships usually carry a 57-mm twin mount of an older type on the foreship, others have only a twin-mounted 25-mm antiaircraft gun instead. Insofar as tugboats of the SORUM class are used in patrol service, they have two 30-mm antiaircraft twin mounts next to each other forward of the bridge. Throughout both classes the towing equipment has apparently been retained, so that they can also be employed for tugboat services.

With the ZHUK class a type of patrol craft has been produced, which is also used predominantly by the KGB border units and is otherwise ready to become an export item (68 units to 15 nations). These units are recognizable by the strongly tilted and slightly conical mast located at the end of the bridge house--the only superstructure on the boat. There is some variation in the placement of the armament, which consists of 12.7- and 14.5-mm antiaircraft machine gun.

The Polish Navy possesses a few domestically built harbor defense boats of the so-called M-84 type. These are not armed; their outward appearance is made clear by the sketch.

#### Command Vessels

Between 1968 and 1970 a series of special vessels were developed on the hulls of OSA motor torpedo boats. On the one hand they are command vessels, on the other target boats.

The command vessels--NATO description: OSA (F) class--are used for remote control of target boats during missile shooting exercises. There are two different versions:

--One has a long deck superstructure and two multileg masts, as well as dinghies (these serve to take boat crews from and to the target vessels).

--The other shows a significantly shorter deck superstructure and four multileg masts, but no dinghies. In contrast to the previously mentioned vessels, these can serve either as command boats or as target boats, as needed. Characteristic for them is, in addition to the four masts, a number of SHEET NEST radar reflectors.

A few remaining units of the long since scrapped KOMAR class--in the early 1960 these were the first carriers of ship-to-ship missiles--are still in service, also as command vessels. Stripped of their missile and artillery armament they appear somewhat strange in their present condition, which is caused by the free deck areas fore and aft of the control position.

#### SIGINT Ships 1)

Modern trawlers of the Alpinist class are increasingly deployed, probably as replacements for the outdated SIGINT vessels of the OKEAN class. The exterior has scarcely been changed. The ships, built with a forecastle deck, have a compact superstructure forward of midships, on which a tripod mast is constructed. An engine exhaust stack is also present, but it is only visible at very close range, because it is installed on the portside and is not much taller than the bridge. This compact superstructure displays two features at the front and rear: These are, first, an electronics antenna, which is mounted on a supporting framework that juts out far over the front of the bridge. Further astern there is a portal mast with sloping legs. A high topmast has been built on it. In NATO this series is called the ALPINIST-MOD class.

#### Surveying Ships

A less well-known smaller series of surveying ships is represented by the MELITOPOL class. It was built in the 1950's in Poland in accordance with the standards of civilian shipbuilding and represents a type of coastal motor

Fig. 12: Less well-known ship's types of the Warsaw Pact naval forces  
(uniform scale 1:1000)

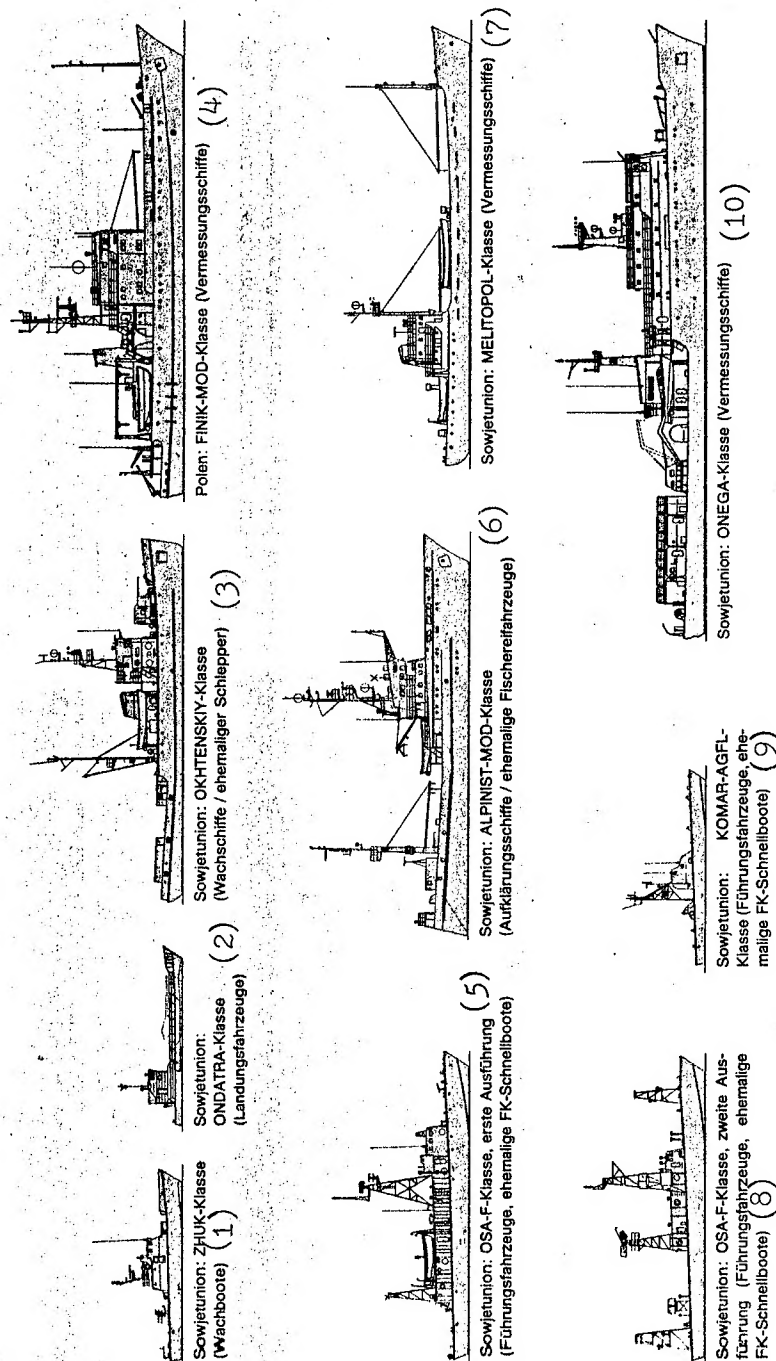
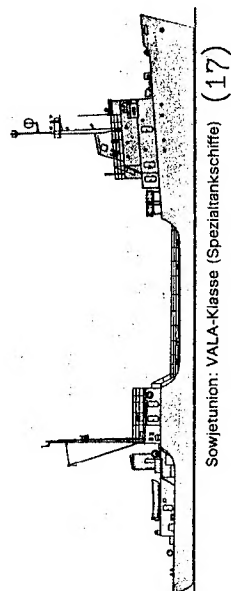
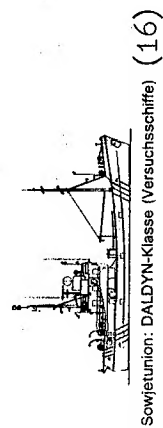
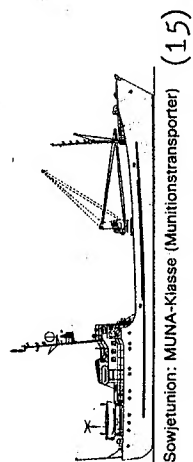
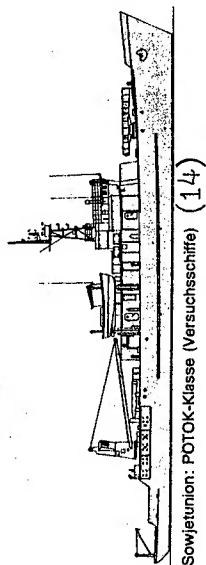
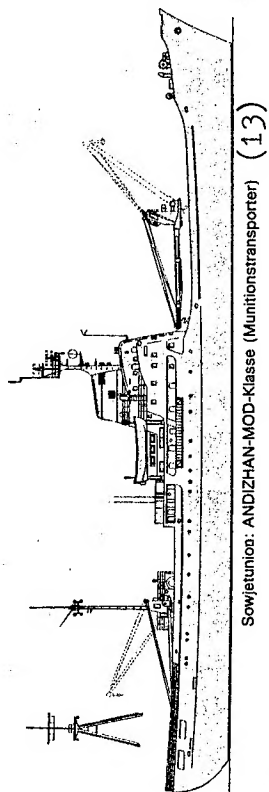
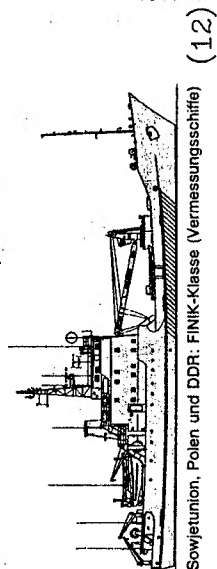
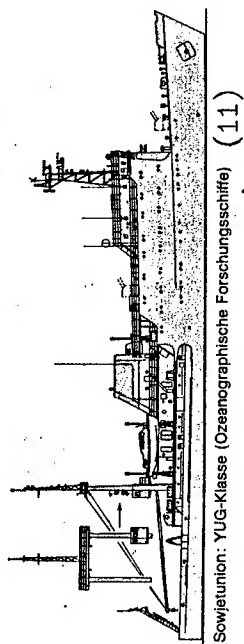


Fig. 12: Less well-known ship's types of the Warsaw Pact naval forces  
(uniform scale 1:1000)





Key to the preceding pages:

1. Soviet Union: ZHUK class (guard boats)
2. Soviet Union: ONDATRA class (landing craft)
3. Soviet Union: OKHTENSKY class (patrol ships/former tugboats)
4. Poland: FINIK-MOD class (surveying ships)
5. Soviet Union: OSA-F class, first version (command vessels, former fast missile boats)
6. Soviet Union: ALPINIST-MOD class (intelligence ships/former fishing vessels)
7. Soviet Union: MELITOPOL class (surveying ships)
8. Soviet Union: OSA-F class, second version (command vessels, former fast missile boats)
9. Soviet Union: KOMAR-AGFL class (command vessels, former fast missile boats)
10. Soviet Union: ONEGA class (surveying ships)
11. Soviet Union: YUG class (oceanographic research ships)
12. Soviet Union, Poland and GDR: FINIK class (surveying ships)
13. Soviet Union: ANDIZHAN-MOD class (ammunition transports)
14. Soviet Union: POTOK class (experimental ships)
15. Soviet Union: MUNA class (ammunition transports)
16. Soviet Union: DALDYN class (experimental ships)
17. Soviet Union: VALA class (special tankers)

#### Experimental Ships

To the abundant variety of still little-known ships and vessels belongs also the DALDYN class, which is a converted fishing trawler of the KARELIYA class. Typical of these is the trawler hull and the superstructures beginning aft of midships, consisting of a poop deck with a bridge house, on which is located a not very conspicuous funnel with a sloping top. One "cropped" three-legged mast has been placed at the bow and one at the stern.

The POTOK-class (torpedo) experimental ships are only a few years old. Their appearance shows the style elements of the guard ships (former high sea minesweeper boats) of the T-58 type.<sup>2)</sup> These units have a relatively high-decked hull with a conspicuous sheer, as well as bulwark in the area of the forecastle; aft, the hull ends with a stern platform. On the extended bridge house complex a high multi-legged mast has been placed, and closely after it follows a high stack with a sloping top. A shipboard crane with a long jib has been installed at the aft end of the stern deck. In this area pontoon-shaped floats have been hung on both sides of the external skin, which are apparently to be used for control and maintenance work on torpedoes when these have steered up to the surface at the end of their run.

#### Missile Support Ships

Also little known as yet are the missile support ships of the ANDIZHAN-MOD class, converted cargo ships of the ANDIZHAN class built in the 1950's in the GDR. Two such freighters were converted during 1974-75 in Kronshtadt to

freighters (Polish Type B-51). The characteristic features of these ships are the short forecastle deck and the bridge house arranged in the stern, which surrounds a conical stack with a slanting top on the forward side. Of the two masts--two derricks are affixed to each--the forward one stands at the end of the forecastle, while the rear one has its place on the forward side of the bridge house. The units of this class, which are used as surveying ships, are equipped with a surveying launch, which is run over the aft cargo hatch.

Also relatively unknown are the surveying ships of the ONEGA class, since to all appearances they sail exclusively in distant waters and are therefore only rarely sighted. For those, the long, flat bridge complex with the tubular mast are significant features, as well as the double stack placed astern of midships, between which a second tubular mast has been placed. Yet another characteristic is the deckhouse built on the stern, whose roof is used as a helicopter platform.

Of newer date and thus also not sufficiently well-known are the surveying ships of the FINIK class, which in addition to being used by the Soviet fleet are also used in Poland and the GDR. That this class is the follow-on to the SAMARA, MOMA, KAMENKA and BIYA classes, becomes apparent at first glance: Just as for those, a shipboard crane has been installed on the foreship; it is used for handling marker buoys. But unlike for the abovementioned predecessors, the stack and also the mast correspond to a different "look" in shipbuilding: The stack has an angular cross-section, tapers off toward the top and is pulled far out over the bridge, while an equally tall four-legged mast has taken the place of the former tubular mast.

The Polish Navy has recently acquired a small series of new surveying ships, which are a variant of the FINIK class: the NATO description of it is therefore the FINIK-MOD class. What distinguishes it from the FINIK class is mainly the lack of a shipboard crane on the foreship; instead of a crane, there is only a loading boom on the foreside of the bridge. Further distinguishing marks are the conspicuous ship's boat derricks on either side of the stack and the relatively large bridge complex in comparison with the regular FINIK class. These ships are not armed.

#### Research Ships

Among the newer Soviet naval research ships may be mentioned primarily the YUG class, which is already represented by a considerable number. Characteristic of these is the unusually large bridge complex, which in its location occupies the entire upper width of the deck. At the end of it rises a funnel with a square base cross-section; its significant feature is a rear side that pulls away quite steeply. These ships can also be recognized by the shape and position of their masts: At the very front of the bridge complex there is a narrow multi-legged mast, and in the stern a portal mast with a central topmast and a heavy loading boom. In the stern a crane has been installed for launching equipment.

missile support ships, but in so doing their freighter appearance was changed relatively little. The superstructures are located amidships, and they consist of a comparatively short but high bridge house, which is "crowned" by a conical funnel and an equally conical tubular mast at the immediate forward edge of the funnel. On the forecastle the original mast has been replaced by a shipboard crane placed between the two forward cargo hatches. On both sides of the rear A-shaped portal mast a smaller deck crane has been installed. Behind that follows a helicopter platform, so that supply can also take place by way of VERTREP.<sup>3)</sup>

### Ammunition Transports

Due to their typical exterior, the ammunition transports of the MUNA class were obviously developed according to the norms of civilian shipbuilding and are thus easily confused with freight-carrying coastal craft. The superstructures are concentrated to the afterbody; forward of them are two cargo compartments, between which a deck crane has been placed on the upper deck. Further forward a pole mast with a loading boom has been positioned, on the bridge is a second pole mast, and behind it follows a stack with a sloping top. These ships are used especially for torpedo transport.

### Special Tankers

In addition to the units designed for liquid cargo of the LUZA and URAL classes,<sup>4)</sup> the Soviet Navy also possesses a third series of such ships, called the VALA class by NATO. This VALA class seems to fulfill a double function: This is indicated by the large funnel located on the bridge. This funnel certainly does not belong to the power plant (which, in accordance with the construction of these ships is placed in the afterbody, where an exhaust gas stack has been placed). On the contrary, it could belong either to a shipboard fuel plant--perhaps for old oil--or to a group of generators, which are available to produce electric power for supply to other ships or to land installations. A pole mast has been erected at the immediate forward edge of this funnel, and a second pole mast has been placed forward of the rear stack.

### Torpedo Recovery Boats

About 20 torpedo recovery boats of the SHELON class have been built since 1978 as replacement for obsolete classes. Their hull--which on both sides is equipped with bulwark from about midships to the bow--probably belongs to the OSA hull family, judging by its construction. Two features are easy to remember for this class: First, the two multi-leg masts in the middle third of the ship (of which the rear one is equipped with a loading boom) and, second, the superstructure that slopes upward from stern to bow, apparently following the angle of inclination of a stern ramp. Further, a dipping sonar has been installed--apparently on just a few boats--on the starboard side of the square stern, similar to what has been done on the fast torpedo hydrofoil boats of the TURYA class.

Since the late 1970's Poland has built its own type of torpedo recovery boats, which in NATO is known as the PAJAK class. These vessels are recognizable by their compact superstructure, which is twice as high in the bridge area, while at the end of it two stacks have been installed next to each other. There is one mast on the bridge and one between the stacks, each of different shape. What makes these ships especially distinctive is the shipboard crane installed in the stern.

#### Training Ships

Largely unknown are probably the BRYZ-class Polish-built training ships, which sail both for the Soviet and the Polish navies. Characteristic of these is the high appearance, due to the presence of bulwark, of the hull with its slanted bow, as well as a block-shaped deck building which surrounds a multilegged mast (the latter in various versions) and a sloping or horizontally cut-off stack. These vessels are only encountered in coastal waters.

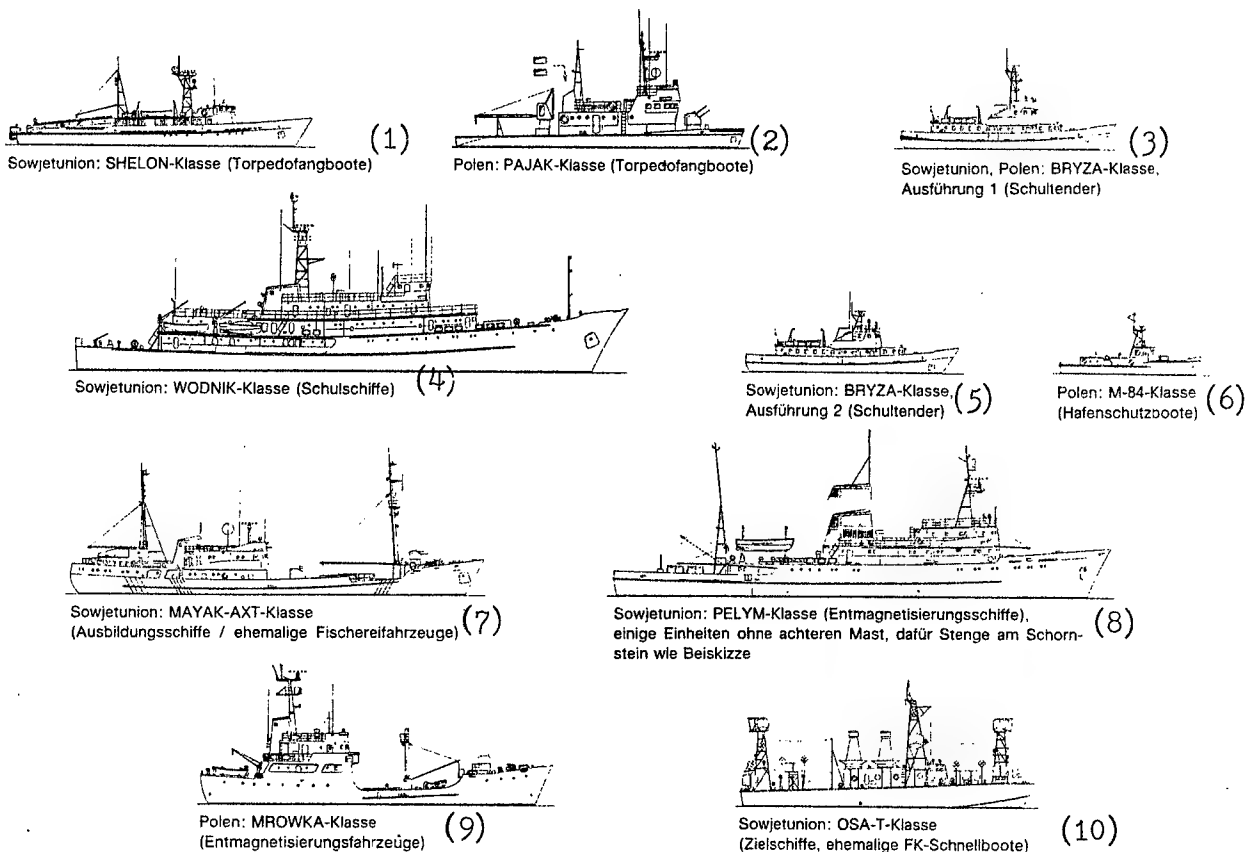
The Soviet version of the Polish-built WODNIK type differs from the units flying the Polish and GDR flags mainly through the position of the four-legged mast: This is not built at the end of the bridge, as in the original version, but further astern, just before the double stack. Another characteristic is the lack of armament on the Soviet WODNIK's.

A training version of the MAYAK-type trawler has also remained largely unknown. This ship apparently serves as a trainer for submarine weapon systems and is therefore fitted with antisubmarine torpedo tubes (4 x 1), antisubmarine missile launchers (4 x RBU-1200) and depth charges (two racks), and furthermore a twin-mounted 25-mm antiaircraft gun. Its trawler-like appearance has been substantially retained.

#### Degaussing Ships

Although they have been in service for more than a decade, the degaussing ships of the PELYM class have become only little known. This is obviously for the reason that they appear only rarely outside domestic waters and stay mainly within the large base areas. These ships are recognized by their two three-legged masts and by the conical stack ending with a slant, which sits precisely in the center between these masts. Instead of the aft three-legged mast, some of the first vessels have a topmast stayed by short supporting legs at the forward edge of the stack.

The Polish Navy possesses its own construction type of such degaussing ships, described as the MROWKA class in NATO. The hull has a short forecastle; behind it begins a well deck which extends to the forward edge of the bridge house. In the center of the well deck a loading post with a light loading boom has been erected. The relatively large dimensions of the bridge building ends with a stack that tapers off upward and has a slanted top; a tubular mast has been erected at the immediate forward edge of it.



**Key:**

1. Soviet Union: SHELON class (torpedo recovery boats)
2. Poland: PAJAK class (torpedo recovery boats)
3. Soviet Union, Poland, BRYZA class, version 1 (training tender)
4. Soviet Union: WODNIK class (training ships)
5. Soviet Union: BRYZA class, version 2 (training tender)
6. Poland: M-84 class (harbor defense boats)
7. Soviet Union: MAYAK-AXT class (training ships/former fishing vessels)
8. Soviet Union: PELYM class (degaussing ships), some units without the aft mast, but instead with a topmast on the stack, as in the sketch
9. Poland: MROWKA class (degaussing vessels)
10. Soviet Union: OSA-T class (target ships, former fast missile boats)

## Target Vessels

The strange-looking OSA (T) <sup>5)</sup>-class target ships have already been in service since the 1960's, but even so they have remained substantially unknown until now. Very far forward as well as aft they have a multi-legged mast for carrying corner reflectors, furthermore two conical stacks, placed one behind the other, with ruff-shaped collars just above the place where they exit the superstructure and a thick upper edge. Additional corner reflectors are located on the main mast behind the bridge and on separate supporting structures. Nets for radar jamming can be suspended fore and aft. These boats sail without crews during target exercises, and are remotely controlled during such operations from command boats usually belonging to the OSA (F) class described elsewhere.

This contribution should not only provide an aid for recognition, but also make something else clear: The multitude and specialization of ship's types shown here must be evaluated as a reflection of the accelerated phase, in which the Soviet Navy have been operating for years. The era has long since passed, during which it suffered the notorious lack of such specialized ships and vessels and in which it had to make do with emergency solutions; at that time only few ships could be used for such special duties--such as experimentation and testing--and usually only for a very limited time, which necessarily had to result in many shortcomings. Today, experiments and tests and other special duties can be undertaken without regard for such restrictions, because the ship material needed for it is available. Considerable progress has been achieved in other respects as well, for example in the units entrusted with training tasks. Previously, as a rule only run-down, largely worn-out ships could be used, whose technologies had long since become obsolete and superseded. Today, the Soviet Navy has an entire palette of new and modern training ship constructions, probably with good living conditions, but in any case with modern power plants, intelligence equipment, electronics and weapon systems. These, in turn, enable a more realistic training of the new generation than may ever have been possible before.

## FOOTNOTES

1. SIGINT ships are signal intelligence ships, also called reconnaissance ships, which are deployed for reception and listening to radio broadcasts. SIGINT comes from "signal intelligence," in German approximately equivalent to Nachrichtenaufklaerung.
2. It had originally been assumed that the POTOK class consisted of converted units of the T-58 class; this has turned out to be incorrect, however.
3. VERTREP = Vertical Replenishment = vertical, meaning carried out by helicopter.

FOOTNOTES cont.

4. Concerning these two classes, we refer to our contribution "LUZA und URAL" [LUZA and URAL] in Volume 9/83, p 495.
5. The T in parentheses denotes the English "target."

11949

CSO: 2300/7

## HOXHA BOOK ON MIDDLE EAST REVIEWED BY SWISS PAPER

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 30 Aug 84 p 4

[Text] After caustic recollections of ideological enemies (he probably would have refused to tolerate the word adversary) and sarcastic retributions with former comrades such as Tito, Khrushchev and Mao Zedong, Albania's ruler Enver Hoxha has now had one volume, "Reflections on the Middle East," published. It deals with excerpts from the political diary, from which, among other things, the "Thoughts on China" have also already been taken. The individual excerpts are dated and should be understood accordingly as daily observations. Subsequent retouching was probably less frequently necessary here than in the editing of the China volumes, in which the former great ally comes off so poorly that one must ask why Tirana had not made a clean sweep long before.

## Dictator as an Editorial Writer

The perceptions that Europe's now undisputedly most senior ruler has collected about the Arab world are hardly staggering. The essential aspects of his political opinion on the disputing parties and also his evaluation of the individual events were known. The Albanian party paper ZERI I POPULLIT has over the years published numerous editorials whose author one could guess to be Enver Hoxha. The assumption is now confirmed since several diary entries are furnished with remarks such as "these notes were used in writing the article which on ... appeared in ZERI I POPULLIT," and similar references. Other autocrats summon journalists for interviews; the eloquent Albanian apparently prefers to give his statements the literary polish at his desk.

## Pointed Remarks on Arabic Leaders

In describing Arabic realities Enver Hoxha is less dogmatic and somewhat more discriminating than when he takes issue with his main adversaries, the United States and the Soviet Union. Israel is to him, of course, only a military outpost of the United States, and nowhere does he allow himself to be forced into recognizing the Jewish state in principle. In the first place, this state appears to be recorded by Hoxha only as an enemy of the Arabs, not as an individual entity. Thus, he does not even begin an evaluation of the political structures in this country. In contrast, he writes, sometimes very pointedly, of what he thinks of



some leading Arab politicians. Nasser is for him not a progressive revolutionary, but a bourgeois nationalist, his domestic policy is most sharply criticized, only the nationalization of the Suez Canal and Nasser's occasional efforts to release himself from the clutch of the Soviet Union are praised. Because Sadat showed much more firmness toward the Soviet Union, he does not come off as badly as one would have expected on account of signing the Camp David treaties. The ruler of the Shqiptars considers Qadhdhafi's revolution to be pure demagoguery, the riches of Libya were being squandered. He thinks still less of the first Algerian head of state Ben Bella, a--as he states--bourgeois upstart who has thrown himself into the pose of the revolutionary without ever having fired a shot. He knows nothing about Boumedienne, but he at least appears less pretentious. If Hoxha does not particularly criticize Arafat, who he considers weak, then it is probably only not to additionally damage the Palestinian cause. The Palestinians appear to him as the yeast of a progressive development in the Arab sphere.

#### Religion as a Curbing Element

Enver Hoxha must also finally recognize at the end of his reflections spanning over a quarter of a century that the Islamic religion stands in the way of the rapid advancement of the revolution desired by him. After the Soviet Army's invasion of Afghanistan he puts forth the programmatic demand that the events in the Moslem countries would have to be considered in light of dialectical and historical materialism. In particular, he would like to apply the method to the Iranian revolution. The founder of the world's first atheistic state must somehow justify his admiration for the victory of the Shi'ites and their idealistic philosophy; thus, he hopes that the Iranian revolution will step by step distance itself from the Shi'ite doctrine. If the Arab peoples (the Persian people may probably consider itself generously included here) free themselves some day from the negative aspects of religion with its backward-looking demands, then the struggle will end with the victory of the Arab peoples and a new page in the history of humanity will be opened. In Albania, religions were discredited relatively easily because they could be associated with unloved foreign powers (the Ottoman Empire, Serbia and finally the Vatican). Such a foreign fate does not exist for the Arabs and Iranians. Thus, much time may still pass until the day yearned for by Hoxha when the chains of religion are broken.

12331

CSO: 2300/11

## PAST, PRESENT STATUS OF RELIGION IN COUNTRY EXAMINED

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 12 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by Heinz Gstrein: "Albania Refuses Visas to Clergy of Every Religion"]

[Text] In this 40th autumn of its independence under the leadership of Enver Hoxha, the long closed off Albania is cautiously opening itself up to the world again. In a time of growing crisis, unemployment or at least state indebtedness, his work is not at all that bad. The country of the Shqiptars, once Europe's poorhouse, today supplies itself with its own water power and oil energy. It knows neither taxes nor price increases, owes not a lek--the Albanian monetary unit--abroad and has more than a half billion dollars in foreign currency reserves in the state treasury of Tirana.

Franz Josef Strauss was not the only surprising guest recently. Wandering on his tracks are many inquisitive tourists, among them especially Bavarians, Austrians and Swiss. The People's Republic has invited back Albanian emigrants from the United States in groups; on the beach of Durres one meets personalities from Greece, the longtime enemy, on a confidential mission. Even journalists, for whom Albania is off limits as usual, are being selectively allowed to enter. On the other hand, there are no visas for clergy of any kind or religion.

Albania's anti-religious frightening image as the "world's first atheistic state" has in the first place for a long time contributed to the West's negative opinion of it, although Tirana has long since disengaged itself from the East bloc. Its withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact 1968, a protest against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, was already the political turning point. A year before, however, Hoxha had banned Albania's Islam, Orthodoxy and Catholicism from public life. And ever since the Christian solidarity associations have been beating the drum against the country without churches, monk's habits and collection bags.

But Albania's atheism in its entirety lies much deeper than its Marxist-materialistic present. Even 500 years ago the national hero Skanderberg also drew the priests and monks into battle against the Turks. Today they are employed in "useful occupations." In the Vatican, which at that time collected donations throughout Europe for the Albanian crusade against

the crescent, Skanderberg was accused of being a heretic: he did not carry field altars along on his crusades and left the baptism of children up to the parents who opted for it. This is the way it is done today in Albania.

A hundred years ago the Albanian independence movement tried to create national unity by overcoming the religious schism in 70 percent Islamic, 20 percent Orthodox and 10 percent Catholic Albania. The chief spokesmen were Naim and Sami Frasheri with their call for religious tolerance.

This call today would have long since been silenced by militant Islamism had Hoxha not already recognized the danger of the approaching re-Islamization in 1967. As emerges from his just published diary, the restrengthening of Islamic fanaticism was a main motive for his striking against all established religious communities. The fundamentalism which today creates side issues for the Yugoslavs with its Moslems could have plunged the barely three million Albanians into chaos.

Outside of its approximately 29,000 square kilometers, on the other hand, Albania applauds the Islamic revolution. That is as true for Khomeyni as for the anti-Soviet mujaheddin in Afghanistan and of course especially applies to the struggle for autonomy of the reawakened Muslim Albanians in Yugoslavian Kosovo.

12331

CSO: 2300/11

CELEBRATION OF 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF INTERNAL MINISTRY ORGANS

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 19 Sep 84 p 1

[Leading article: "Forty Years of Selfless Fighters of the Revolution--Gala Meeting Dedicated to 40th Anniversary of Establishment of Ministry of Internal Affairs Organs"]

[Text] Our people celebrated with great joy the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Ninth of September Socialist Revolution. Under the leadership of the party and with the help of the Soviet Union Bulgaria has made exceptionally great progress in building a new socialist society. From a backward and poor country our country has come to rank today among the advanced, developed countries in the world. We have a powerful modern industry, mechanized socialist agriculture and broad social and public gains. In socialist Bulgaria culture, education and health services have had full flowering. Life has changed radically. That is why the enthusiasm with which the working people celebrated the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Ninth of September Socialist Revolution was beyond description.

MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] employees made a significant contribution to the winning of these successes. As always, so now with even greater clarity we prize the profound wisdom and Marxist-Leninist farsightedness of the party and people's government, which the very next day after the victory of the revolution created their iron fist to defend it. On 10 September 1944 the Council of Ministers made a--for us--historic decision. "From the membership of the insurrectionary detachments and People's Militia . . . a People's Militia shall be formed, to which internal security shall be entrusted and which shall be under the supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs."

Forty years have passed since that banner day. These years are not just the marking of time on the calendar. They are the fighting history of the MVR organs. During this period under the leadership of the party, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its organs have become stronger and grown, becoming a sword and shield in the struggle against the enemies of the people. Loyal and devoted sons of the party joined the MVR organs. From the very first days of the new government till today, without sparing their energies, resources and

even their lives, fearlessly and self-sacrificially they have smashed gangster groups, neutralized the agents and spies of foreign intelligence services and fought against every other kind of saboteur attempting to obstruct the building of socialism in Bulgaria. In this difficult struggle scores of known and unknown heroes rose from the ranks of MVR employees. By their overt and covert feats they have written glorious pages in the history of the MVR organs and received the recognition of party and people. That is why MVR employees greet their 40th anniversary with a sense of merited pride.

An expression of the great consideration for and confidence in MVR employees was the gala meeting devoted to the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the MVR organs, held on 14 September in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia. It was organized by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Sofia BCP City Committee, the Fatherland Front City Committee, the Capital City People's Council, the BPFK [expansion unknown] City Committee, the DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union] City Committee and the BCP Rayon Committee in the MVR.

From early morning the festively decorated hall resounded with revolutionary songs and music. Here came veterans, their chests adorned with many decorations and medals, MVR employees, workers from the capital city.

Greeted with long applause, Comrades Milko Belev, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Georgi Atanasov and Emil Khristov, deputy chairmen of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, members of the State Council, department heads of the BCP Central Committee, ministers, heads of sociopolitical and mass organizations, deputy ministers, et al., took their places on the speakers' platform.

On the platform also was member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party and minister of internal affairs of the People's Republic of Angola, Dino Matross.

The meeting was opened and presided over by the first secretary of the Sofia BCP City Committee, Georgi Georgiev.

Candidate Member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee and Minister of Internal Affairs Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov delivered a speech on the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the MVR organs. (We publish the speech separately [not reproduced here]). In it he sketched the heroic 40-year path traveled by MVR organs in service to the party and people.

Those present listened with great attention to greetings read on behalf of the USSR State Security Committee and Ministry of Internal Affairs. Therein our Soviet brothers in arms in warm words expressed their joy on our great holiday and assured us that they will readily assist us and will always be together with us in the future.

Hero of Socialist Labor and shop foreman at the Georgi Kirkov Boiler Building Plant, Mikhail Maevski, conveyed warm words to MVR employees on the occasion of their holiday. On behalf of Sofia workers he thanked the employees for their selfless, loyal and devoted service and wished that in the future as well they would always stand as unswervingly at their combat post and defend the people's interests.

Participants in the meeting sent a telegram to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

A splendid literary and musical program was presented.

The gala celebration of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of MVR organs gave impetus to the MVR employees for new high successes in the struggle for order and security in our socialist homeland and for implementation of the decisions of the 12th Congress and National Party Conference.

6474

CSO: 2200/8

DIVERGENT VIEWS ON ROLE OF LITERATURE, AUTHORS DISCUSSED

No Room for 'Alienation'

East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 33 No 9, Sep 84 pp 745-750

[Article by Prof W. Neubert, Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence and member of Presidium of Writers' Association: "Power of the People Reflected in the Fiction Literature of the GDR"]

[Text] The Historicity of the Subject Matter

At every stage of the new real-humanist public life, the revolutionary social upheavals in town and country, the 35-year history of the GDR was accompanied by antifascist literature--diverse in subject matter and motive, differentiated in human protagonists and configurations. Democratic land reform, the abolition of domination by large landowners and backwardness in the villages, the growing alliance between town and country, between working class and working peasantry, the emergence of a new personality in the service and on behalf of the antifascist-democratic organs of power--this historic description confronts the reader as early as the first quintennial after liberation in the works by Willi Bredel ("Das Schweigende Dorf" [The Silent Village] 1949), Anna Seghers ("Friedensgeschichten" (Stories of Peace] 1950), Otto Gotsche ("Tiefe Furchen" [Deep Furrows] 1949), Juriy Brezan ("Auf dem Rain Waechst Korn" [Grain Grows on the Ridge] 1951), Werner Reinowski ("Der Kleine Kopf" [The Small Head]/"Vom Weizen Faellt die Spreu" [The Chaff Falls Away from the Wheat] 1952), Friedrich Wolf ("Buergermeister Anna" [Mayor Anna]/play and movie 1949/1950) and in other literary testimonies of that era.

In "Mayor Anna," Friedrich Wolf acted as a pioneer for the new socialist drama by attempting to record the class conflict in the village of the first postwar year and, at the same time, describe the new female personality in the guise of a self-confident and intelligent woman mayor who cooperates with all democratic forces. This Anna Drews, aged only 23 (!) assumes her certainly not easy state assignment which at times involves her in differences of opinion and even conflicts with people otherwise of the same mind (her district president, for example). This play was the first to discuss concrete issues of discipline with regard to the mandatory state plan, the relationship between personal initiative and the necessary commandment

of democratic centralism at an early stage of social development. On the occasion of the construction of the new village school, Anna receives a lesson about the nature of her state which is founded on the initiative, energy and enthusiasm of the people for the immediate definite step toward the new life. She also finds out about the equal necessity for taking into account the concerns of the entire region and beyond.

Learning to lead, to rule, to organize in the political context--that is the basic idea of this play (or movie) which is still interesting for us. Today's audience needs to contemplate the dialogues with understanding for past history. From the modern point of view some problems appear too readily dealt with, for example the victory over the wealthy farmer Lehmkuhl--the class foe personified--; the nonantagonist conflict also is too quickly "settled." Still, the fact that Friedrich Wolf's story of a capable woman as the responsible mayor of a village at the time of revolution was received with interest by the majority of spectators, shows that the fictional description of the official in our state is a productive and tempting (albeit difficult) task for literature and art.

Soon distinguished authors responded to the great challenge of discovering and recording the new phenomena in the state enterprise and the new leaders in the entire individual and social spectrum, the present and the future. In Anna Seghers' novel "Die Entscheidung" [The Decision] (1959), the years 1947/1951 provide the social background. In his novel "Roheisen" [Pig Iron], Hans Marchwitza tried to show how the new state and the opportunities of the antifascist-democratic developing socialist democracy in the plant (Eisenhuettenstadt) begin to shape the new man. (This was a pioneering book, and in a conversation with the author of this article in 1960, Hans Marchwitza freely admitted that "I may have comprehended the historic and social implications but lacked the artistic ability for handling such a story.)

Memorable literary works about the change in human nature as the result of the socialist state power in town and country, shaped in the esthetic interplay of the comic and the serious, soon emerged from the pens of Erwin Strittmatter ("Tinko," 1954) and Helmut Baierls. The latter's play "Frau Flinz" (1961) clearly demonstrated how a proletarian woman, hitherto cheated and misled by the only state she knew, now almost despite herself and with incredulous amazement, experiences her own power. Initially, after 1945, she seeks to save her sons from "politics and government," because she considers "power" a monster. Later, though, she learns to appreciate that these same sons are made sensible and good persons precisely by doing the bidding of the altogether other ones, the real power of the people.

The plain title "Vertrauen" [Confidence], Anna Seghers' major novel of 1968, represented a significant aspect of the literary program of GDR socialist-realist writing: Secure confidence in the people's own powers, well-founded confidence in the leading power--the SED, active confidence in the human potential for solving the problems, conflicts and contradictions on the way ahead.

Great and lasting importance in the esthetic-literary and textual-civic meaning lies with the poetic output of Johannes R. Becher, addressed to real socialism. It achieved its climax in the poems "Song of the Construction



of Socialism," "Statesman and Poet," "Bequest," "Yours is the Power," "Realm of Man," and "Planetary Manifesto." They express the values of socialism, their ethical and esthetic impulses for man, the real bases of our real humanism in hitherto matchless excellence and profound emotion. The 25 years that have elapsed since the publication of Becher's confessional and ideological poems has not detracted from his professions of faith which characterize the humanist nature of the socialist state, the state official as trustee of the people's power, the citizen as involved by virtue of his knowledge and actions. On the contrary! Becher's forward looking lyricism, his description of the future, of developments in the reality of socialism, allow these self same poems to become a lasting and inspiring experience just now. (The reader may consider this a suggestion for even more effectively applying in daily life the artistic-esthetic values earlier created.) Johannes R. Becher's ideals were pursued by more questions and answers on the relationship of individual and society in the socialist state of the GDR in the literary output of Uwe Berger, Guenther Deicke, Heinz Kahlau, Georg Maurer, Gisela Steineckert, Walter Werner, Paul Wien and other well-known poets.

The development of socialist national literature in the GDR in the 1970's and 1980's showed more and more obviously that each meaningful human problem or individual fate can be described with artistic validity only if it is truly rooted in the total social nature of socialism and therefore in one or the other manner depicts the quality of its public life. As far back as 1965, Hermann Kant's successful novel "Die Aula" [The School Auditorium] pointed out this inevitability in the relationship of socialist society to socialist literature. In "The School Auditorium" Kant attempted to record the decisive years of the GDR's start by way of the contradictory development of a collective of young people, students at the Workers' and Farmers' Institute. He does so in a spirit of comedy and its various manifestations of humor, gaiety, satire, sarcasm, and so on. The satire is party-like insofar as the comedy concerns the discovery that the socialist society ultimately always involves transparent and therefore manageable events amidst a process leading to a higher stage of historic development. Every responsible person helps to decide the details of this process.

"The School Auditorium" dialectically merges satire and praise--these apparent opposites. The socialist society itself represents the basis. The praise and, indeed, the glorification culminate in the description of a man who, due to the simplicity and solid worth of his character, illuminates the social meaning of this book: He is Jakob Filter, once an agricultural and forestry worker, now department head in the ministry. He did not become a government official for the sake of a bourgeois career but for the sake of his class which was building a new state for the people. It is wonderful for Kant to remind us also of the former worker's wistfulness and longing for the forest. In this context the forest may and should be seen as a metaphor, and the reader is bound to realize that life (and the forest also) has never in the history of Germany been in better hands and heads than now that men like Jakob Filter think and rule as one with the mass of the people. Kant's novel "The School Auditorium" merits a place in the golden treasury of our literature on the evolution and work of people in the first German workers' and farmers' state.

Also among the particularly notable books is the novel "Franziska Linkerhand" by Brigitte Reimann (1974). The story line deals with a problem of truly sociostrategic importance for real socialism in the GDR: The best possible economic, esthetic-urban, social and human-psychological realization of the housing construction program as a main pillar of social policy. The process of individual conflicts in the context of social concerns is the focus of the novel. The individual-creative features of the architect heroine, her claim to happiness and fulfillment in her profession and personal life, her strenuous efforts to combine originality and the planning of projects and feasible solutions (as the recurrent problem of possibility and proportion) put Franziska squarely in the tense field of basic agreement with the state and social concept combined with a constructively critical attitude in her daily work and life. The novel poses many questions: Socialist democracy as the process of maturation of society, collective and individual, the nature of self-realization, the individual claim to happiness and fulfillment and its "redemption" by society's concrete-historic stage of development.

In the 1970's many modern books even more clearly reflected the network of individual and social relations--developed in the guise of the state manager in factory, school, science and research. Translated into literature thereby was a challenge by Fritz Selbmann whose books ("Die Heimkehr des Joachim Ott" [Joachim Ott's Homecoming] 1962 and "Die Soehne der Woelfe" [The Sons of the Wolves] 1965) were intimately concerned with this subject. It was Selbmann's intention "...to demonstrate the entirely novel tests as to character, technical knowledge and management skills confronting organizers and managers in factories and regions as the result of developing socialism." Of course this important demand does not mean that it must be somehow personified each time by a specific state manager. Involved here is the appearance of many aspects of state management and responsibility in the mainstream of literature. This is well documented in latter-day novels or short stories by Dieter Noll ("Kippenberg" 1979), Erik Neutsch ("Zwei Leere Stuehle" [Two Empty Chairs] 1979), Juriy Brezan ("Bild des Vaters" [Picture of a Father] 1982), Walter Flegel ("Es Gibt Kein Niemandland" [There Is No No-Man's Land] 1980). Apart from the justified question whether the ideological content of the first mentioned novel might have been even better expressed if it had been more precisely put, it is concerned with just that question (according to Fritz Selbmann, "the test") of what we now and at this point call socialist personality, personal courage and social responsibility, honesty of the scientist and ethics of science, quality of management and reality of socialist democracy. Protagonists such as Professor Lankwitz, party secretary Boskow, Kortner, Harra, Schneider, Hadrian, Degenhardt, Papst, the girl Eva, Charlotte and Joachim K., illustrate social concerns of vital value for socialism now and in future. Who wins? What wins? Why are wins scored and by what means? The conflict pivots around the varied behavior of the characters toward a research and planning assignment. This turns into the touchstone for human as well as technical quality of every kind.

Human quality as the sum total of future-oriented and warm-hearted understanding for the immediate (personal) environment and the needs and concerns of

people (citizens) in the wider social sphere represents the dominant factor in Guenter Goerlich's "Die Chance des Mannes" [Man's Opportunity]. In a 1981 discussion with staff members of the Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence of the GDR, Guenter Goerlich remarked apropos his book that "I am interested in this particular man and person, and at the same time I am equally interested in him from the aspect of our social maturity, the special good sense and warmth needed to make cleverness and technical expertise properly socialist." This story represents the most incisive and detailed portrait of a state official available in current GDR literature. At the same time Guenter Goerlich felt the discussions revealed that the critical element of the story--concerning the "stereotypical" modes of behavior acquired by Weiss in the course of his work are not judged "typical" for people in the state sphere of responsibility by the vast majority of readers; instead they are thought to be "problems and issues that merit attention wherever people manage, act and decide."

All the same, the concrete state management setting and color is thus eliminated, though literature's objective esthetic "model" nature allows productive transferability as well as clarity. At the same time the council chairman is by no means "alienated" from human feelings, despite the problems raised by some of his attitudes in the context of his family and marital relations. If he were in fact alienated, he would have long since withdrawn from the subjective basis of his public work in and for socialism, quite apart from the fact that it would have been inevitably withdrawn from him by society. Also to be excluded is the anarchistic, bourgeois (of all things!) a priori suspicion of the exercise of power (concrete socialist power). Involved basically are the ideological, pedagogical and psychological elements of the subjective factor or--collectively--the actual and exercised standard of individual culture which, however, need not always be identical with the high standard of personal training and ability. It is precisely this which yields the positive social productivity of the esthetic-literary "input" by Guenter Goerlich who certainly does not assume that someone like Wolfgang Weiss conquers the attributes hampering himself and us simply by superordinated "controls" and "corrections." Instead this educational process occurs primarily in the course of the qualitative development of socialist democracy in the region--a conclusion which, consequent upon Guenter Goerlich's party-like logic, offers itself as a suggestion to the reader.

### The Topicality of the Subject Matter

Civic sense and responsibility, rooted in firm socialist party-mindedness, represent an important trend in current GDR socialist literature. GDR writers consider the socialist state as that political and economic base by which the rights of man--above all the right to peace and meaningful labor for the benefit of society--are fully secured. Consequently the topic of any variety of Kafkaesque "alienation" of individual and society, citizen and state, cannot objectively have a place in the socialist-realistic literature of the GDR, despite the wide range and openness of topics and subjects. Characteristic for our literature, on the other hand, is the effort (building on the best achievements of 35 years and continuing to pursue them) by artistic intent even more profoundly to penetrate the many

relations between the life of the individual and the life of society--in particular from the aspect of the constant further development and perfection of socialist democracy--, to raise new issues and inspire positive stimuli for a state-managerial response also. The prerequisite for all this is the continuing illumination of the inevitabilities of complex references and connections on the way to the further organization of developed socialism in the GDR. Indeed, the Seventh SED Central Committee Plenum and the SED Central Committee's Conference on Social Sciences have given out this assignment on the basis of the Tenth SED Congress resolutions to not only the social scientists of all disciplines but also to our artists, including writers.

The cooperation of socialist science and socialist art, their reciprocal fertilization, represents a significant ideological and esthetic factor affecting the further evolution of socialist personalities and the socialist lifestyle. Loyal collaboration among writers, state officials, people's representatives, members of commissions and committees certainly exerts a beneficial influence on the literary depiction of social reality. At the same time, the active cooperation of writers and artists in the management of social processes per se is an indispensable prerequisite for the persuasive description of the problems of the developed socialist GDR society's forward movement. Of course nobody interprets this as the mere literary "illustration" of state operation or the literary "doctoring" of utterances by state functionaries of various levels. However, it is indispensable for the realism of GDR literature that the state official and people's representative, the citizen in his active observance of socialist democracy, should be portrayed in fiction also.

Walter Flegel's novel "There Is No No-Man's Land" offers an interesting example, although--unfortunately--it has no more than an episodic role in the story. At issue is the collective elucidation of "guilt" and responsibility for some damage arisen in the region in the course of a defense exercise. Ruth Drewen, mayor of the village, summarizes the dispute among those concerned by saying: "I am just as upset as you are about the field (the reference is to an experimental field--author's comment). But I do not wish to assume a basically negative attitude toward our army. I certainly do not want to see some other people destroying everything, not only the fields but all of Barsekow--us included. The uniformed men sitting here do not, after all, play at cops and robbers, and you are surely aware of that--at one time you were in the forces yourselves. At issue really is war or peace and the field must be considered in that context." Let us think back: Mayor Anna Drews in Friedrich Wolf's play of 1949/1950--and Walter Flegel's mayor Ruth Drewen. We note more than the similarity of names, the identity of the personality is equally striking--it is merely far more mature, as is our society, the socialist state.

The major literary topic "state--state official--citizen--socialist democracy" in GDR fiction since 1945 (and, in particular, 1949) allows us to note this: The real discovery of the profoundly affecting consequences of the socialist state power and its extensive effect on the life and development of man, his social lifestyles, his intellectual range, his ethics, esthetics, creativity and productivity as a whole represent an artistic gold mine

for the socialist author, informative and moving for his reader. The further evolution of socialist democracy in daily life, the stimulation of human creativity, the conscious utilization of all motive forces of socialism offer an inexhaustible field for literary work and mastery in this fourth decade of the German Democratic Republic.

#### Anonymous Plea for Freedom

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 17 No 9, Sep 84 pp 952-958

[Unattributed: "Writers and Peace: A Voice from the GDR"]

[Text] In past years contemporary writers from East and West Germany met a total of 4 times to discuss world peace, the threat to it and ways and means for its preservation: On 13/14 December 1981 in West and East Berlin (DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV No 1/1982, pp 5ff), 24/26 May 1982 in The Hague (DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV No 7/1982, pp 673ff), 18/25 June 1982 in Cologne (on these three meetings see the volume of documents "Es Geht, Es Geht..." [It Works, It Works...], Munich 1982), 22/23 April 1983 in West Berlin (DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV No 6/1983, pp 571ff). We have now received a voluminous manuscript on this topic from the GDR, and the following represent excerpts from it. The author is a member of the first postwar generation which grew up in the relative political and economic stability of the 1960's. He himself thus describes his intentions in publishing his thoughts: "These reflections formulate subconscious feelings normally subject to self-preserving suppressive mechanisms, and are the result of the collective unease of some of my generation. They meet with the approval of other GDR citizens who would have appended their signatures if this were a statement or a resolution. That is out of the question because the fate of signatories of various statements and resolutions is all too well known. The GDR penal code and its elasticity make it advisable to preserve anonymity for these lines, all the more as no dialogue is either expected or desired. These reflections are to be made accessible to public opinion, not so that I may boast of going public but in the hope of countering by some further thoughts a few unduly great expectations of the Germanophone region--referring to GDR cultural policy and the German-German relationship--, helping to contribute some aspects of the commitment to peace of GDR writers and explain the views of some GDR readers about this commitment. This is the writing of a GDR citizen who looks with some distrust at the officially distinguished and often much decorated representatives of GDR culture, and who is able to write on behalf of some other citizens also. My right to pen these lines is derived from the claim of a literature which--according to the cultural interpretation--focuses on working man and is written for him. The author belongs to this latter category."--The Editors.

At the time of the conferences on peace, we heard many statements by the writers taking part in them. How, though, are these talks to be appraised by the citizens, or at least some GDR citizens and readers? What are the comments of some of these citizens on the talks and the commitment to peace of the GDR writers?

The conferences on peace of East Berlin, The Hague, Cologne and West Berlin were talks among authors and scientists from East and West. In the following I will no longer consider the few scientists involved. Writers from East and West have only a very indirect and vague influence on world peace or the methods for its preservation. There are many indications against such influence being exercised and for it not occurring. We might well ask whether literature is now able at all to be meaningfully considered in a cultural-historic setting, or whether it has long since displayed its lack of effectiveness as an ethical-moral framework, a precept or constructive utopia; whether our thoughts--and this also is an important precondition for peace--has improved, become more moral by the intangible influence of literature and contributed to political transformation. It would be hard to find an answer; moreover it is well possible for opinions on effects or the lack of them to differ. In any case, we are not concerned here with literature in the narrower meaning but with its creators. Meetings of writers and artists already took place in the 1950's, in Lausanne, Duesseldorf and Starnberg. These dealt with world peace among other topics. Were these talks able to prevent or at least give pause to a world of superpowers, of the terror mechanisms of total power, local wars and massacres, hunger and torture, gigantic rearmament already to some extent escaping any checks, an "age of Arctic camps and Napalm bombs" or conscription in the GDR, military instruction in the schools, the greatly increasing militarization of life in general--from BUMMI, the magazine for preschoolers, nursery schools, elementary schools and the increased "defense orientation" of the tests in mathematics teaching (!) through the paramilitary organizations of the "Society for Sport and Technology" and the combat groups--, the extension of conscription "during mobilization and in a state of defense" to women up to the 50th year?

No. Obviously they were quite unable to do so; it would have been foolish to have expected otherwise or assign responsibility for the state of affairs described to the erstwhile conferences. Against the background of the inefficacy of such talks in a possibly still "malleable" world of the 1950's, I must confess to an inability to see the necessity for reviving them in the politically rigid world of the 1980's. Of course others may hold different opinions, think that it is better to talk than to shoot, "to challenge the other to tell the truth," assign such conferences a "signaling effect,... the appreciation that peaceful talk about peace must be learned." Indeed, possibly such conferences and talks between the representatives of "antagonistic" social systems may rank among the last and most important opportunities for preventing a worldwide nuclear cataclysm. All these considerations argue for such talks, and yet--even with complete tolerance for the views of their advocates, at least one objection remains, one question stays with us: Would not strict rigor be alone appropriate in the matter of talks about peace in our seriously and definitely threatened world? Would it not be

a basic command to avoid ideological conflicts--now predetermined by the selection of attendants from the East--or "stubborn ideological squabbles"? Would it not have been more beneficial to refrain from the participation of already known literary functionaries in favor of a healthier and more productive atmosphere for the conversations, to further refrain from inviting some authors in consideration of the sensitiveness of state agencies or, on other occasions, dismiss them as "criminal"? Were such events supposed to raise the efficacy of the effort undertaken for world peace, improve respect for the talks by the respective peoples? I take leave to doubt that.

The conditions in which a commitment to peace by writers in "totalitarian states" appears meaningful and effective were spelled out in a letter from Hermann Hesse to the East Berlin editorial board of the magazine AUFBAU in 1953--at the exact moment of the above mentioned earlier peace discussions. Though Hesse was never a citizen of such a state, he was compelled to familiarize himself with the methods used (albeit geographically removed from them), he touched precisely the nerve of the problem. He perceived the essential nature of the reader--writer relationship in these systems and related the success of peace talks (held at the time within the framework of the Vienna Congress, the efforts of which to preserve peace Hesse had been asked by the editorial board to back). In fact he refused and wrote: "The power of an international writers' conference will in any case be very slight indeed. Literature has long lost all real power in the countries and among the peoples genuinely able to affect world history. Public opinion there is not shaped by an elite of the best minds and characters but commanded from on high. As the individual author--however famous--may be arbitrarily exploited or suppressed by these powers, as he is not permitted to freely express his opinions in totalitarian systems and countries, any even approximately adult reader will distrust any statement of opinion by any writer. Consequently only those authors will enjoy even the smallest credit among alert readers, who consistently deny themselves the protection offered by membership of a party, who serve truth alone, follow their consciences alone and are ready to bring the required sacrifices if this be needed. World conscience may at least listen to them a little; they will acquire the reputation of readiness for courage and martyrdom, or at least they will not ever be liable to be suspected of profiting from or collaborating with the major power systems."

We may ask whether the Eastern writers who attended the peace talks at East Berlin, The Hague, Cologne or West Berlin--whether Kant, Kamnitzer, Wogatzky, Neutsch, Heym or Hermlin--in the present and the past with equal consistency denied themselves the protection afforded by membership of a party, are "reputed to be ready for a show of courage and martyrdom," or at least free from the suspicion of being beneficiaries and fellow travelers?

A writer may make a mistake. However we must be permitted to examine the intensity and duration, motives and consequences after possible corrections of such mistakes (or the absence of corrections). We must also be permitted to ask whether a writer or artist with at least damaged moral integrity is still able legitimately to initiate peace talks or attend them even

if the initially described very slight effect of these talks (on the citizens who ultimately bring about peace) may be entirely lost thereby.

I can very well appreciate that, after 12 years of National Socialist dictatorship, after 6 years of a murderous war, after millions of victims, unspeakable destruction, after concentration camp or emigration, only one issue was important: Peace and the reconstruction of the country, bled white.

I am also fully aware that, at such a "zero hour," emotions are raw, some responses excessively severe, some action needs be hasty. Those born later may smile condescendingly or condemn them without relating them to the appropriate historic setting. I myself know some people who, in initially responsible posts, wished to carry the reconstruction of society on both their shoulders. All of them have in common the experience of disillusion in the 1950's, following which they finally resigned themselves. They despaired of the more and more blatant tactics for retaining power, the internal party intrigues, the cult of personality around Ulbricht, the inquisitorial criticism-autocriticism procedure, the general upsurge of the bureaucratic apparatus, the increasing divergence between reality and appearance, the Twentieth CPSU Congress and the disclosures about Stalin, the Hungarian events of 1956, the witch hunts of 1957 and 1958 in the GDR, at the latest at the time of the construction of the "antifascist-democratic protective wall" in August 1961, at the very latest at the invasion of the CSSR by the Warsaw Pact forces in August 1968.

Therefore I ask once more: Is an author entitled to attend international talks about the serious threat to world peace, who omitted to correct or at least place in the correct historical setting quite understandable and period-related errors and fallacies--publicly admitted? He may be legitimized by something or other, by the confidence of an alert and adult readership he might have obtained by his honesty; I maintain that in fact he is not legitimized.

Stefan Heym, for example, claims in 1959 already to have attended the show trials of some of his friends in the post-Stalinist era with feelings of "shame" or "embarrassment." In the same year he published a book--"Das Kosmische Zeitalter" [The Cosmic Age], dealing primarily with the rapid development of Soviet scientific disciplines.

Of course there can be no objection to a writer's interest in Soviet science. When, however, this is coupled with the use of the most vituperative language and cold war coloration, together with the simplistic equation of scientific and social progress--"'Yesterday, today...yesterday, today' the ships' engine pounded"--, the reader is bound to react--in the case of this book by laughing aloud. In his novel "5 Tage im Juni" [Five Days in June] (its non-publication in the GDR can be explained only by the general silence imposed on the events of June 1953), we find the literary sequel to his hygienic-political explanations of current events, published in the GDR in the mid-1950's with the title "Im Kopf Sauber. Schriften zum Tage" [With a Clear Head. Writings on Everyday Issues]. Disregarding the fact that all GDR writers assume exceptionally repressed attitudes with regard to



this event, Heym goes further than anybody else. He constantly develops good-evil images, associates the rebels and their "allied helpers" with pus forming organisms, and the reader's stomach practically turns over in view of these unappetizing medical similes. He himself almost calls on the "physician" who, in the shape of "medically skilled" security forces promptly takes the stage. Nor is the literary work of Stephan Hermlin (initiator of the peace talks) free of contradictions. He interpreted the revolt of 17 June 1953 as conducted by a counterrevolutionary mob, led by old Nazis and former concentration camp butchers--fanatical, incited to anticommunism, ready to murder, thirsting for lynch justice and propelled by blind destructive force. Here again we meet the view of historic events from a frog's standpoint. Gun barrels swing as in operettas, the engines of the Soviet tanks roar theatrically, manned by cheerful and uncomprehending Red Army soldiers; resolutely stepping security forces in ultra neat trenchcoats involuntarily create relief for the reader, confronted with the ghostly scene accompanied by the Horst Wessel song humming in the background. The brown specters are gone, thanks be to the organs! It is odd, incidentally, that this story--"Die Kommandeuse" [The Woman Commander]--appears in a selection published by the Stuttgart Reclam Verlag in the classification "The Other Germany--Life in the GDR" next to authors such as Kunert, Brasch, Kunze or Schaedlich. However, here too there is a sequel, explanatory and frank remarks on the "workers' revolt" (people in the GDR are extra punctilious at all times to use appropriate quotation marks).

"People whose knees give way and who gnash their teeth when they merely hear the word 'worker,' outdid one another to praise a dirty fascist coup against the GDR as a 'workers' revolt.'" This is a quotation from Hermlin's book "Begrenzungen" [Limitations], containing notes on current events and literature from 1954 through 1959, and which was published in 1960, when the author was 45. The 1956 Hungarian "popular rising" is there said to be a counterrevolution that "achieved an unimaginable measure of repulsiveness when it attempted to depict itself as revolutionary, and we experienced that terrible feeling of shame which always arises when we see in the columns of infamy some of those who ought to know better..." The "uprising" is turned into a parade of "hysterical intellectuals who had taken a lease on freedom after shamefully serving European fascism for 12 years," and he speaks of "insane torturers and a cardinal." This is later followed by the obligatory equation of technical and social progress.

Referring to the Twentieth CPSU Congress (that moved many a communist), Hermlin wrote: "The reports by Krushchev, Bulganin, Mikoyan, Molotov, Kaganovich and Shelepin tell of many things we did not know and now read with interest, pleasure and surprise. Each reader of the Twentieth Congress reports will be able to enumerate something that touched or interested him particularly." Specially "touching" and "interesting" for Stephan Hermlin at that time were Krushchev's revelations about the oldfashioned garb of Soviet citizens. Or at least that is how it sounds.

In his "Abendlicht" [Dusk], set in World War II but written in the 1970's, Hermlin mentions Stalin in two sentences--from the perspective of the 1970's--

and it is not even quite clear whether he still believes in the "incorruptible glance" of this Stalin or whether he is being ironic. He entirely omits any comment on the plethora of problems involved in the Hitler-Stalin pact and the immense influence the conclusion of that treaty exerted on the communist movement of the time from a dual aspect. He appears to be unaware of the ambivalence of a mention of the connection between antisemitism and the reactionary nature of the groups and individuals representing it with respect to National Socialism. This "formula" that "bears in itself the nature of a mathematic equation," lends itself to an interpretation (certainly unintended by the author) according to which the Soviet Union, "despite all the big words" is not a socialist state because--as Hermlin really ought to know--a moderate antisemitism has been preserved there to this day. It is fairly obvious that this interpretation meets neither the spirit of "Dusk" nor Hermlin's writings as such.

On the margin of the first peace conference in East Berlin, he remarked that the Polish labor union Solidarity was entirely responsible for the state of war in Poland, because it had dragged the country to the edge of the abyss. He justified his absence from the Marburg Conference by indicating three--let us simply call them "criminal authors." Aside from the "orgies of hatred and lies of DIE ZEIT," all these bear eloquent witness against Hermlin's peaceability. And even if we were to have a different opinion, ambiguities and half-truths (at best misunderstandings) remain, and questions and doubts are consequently bound to follow.

It is imperative, for example to resolutely contradict Kant who, at the Ninth Writers' Congress of the GDR, talked of his "attempts to keep intelligible the differences between the GDR writers' views of the world and those of "colleagues from capitalist countries" in the course of the peace conference. He also thought that the peace movement was "a comprehensive phenomenon only insofar as it wants only the one thing, peace." At the time he believed to be able to assign the peace conference the meaning "of one of the attempts at preventing a potential future war." This attitude mirrors so-called grand policy on a small scale. Peace is not in fact desired, the term "peace" is being exploited.

The attention of many GDR citizens is directed mainly to the West; not only because they believe in the illusion of the "Golden West," not uncritically as friend-foe exponents or who-whom questioners in the GDR wish to paint them black or white. They are quite capable of differentiating and considering much in the Federal Republic with a critical eye, from drug and environmental problems to the rising tide of crimes of violence or unemployment. Nevertheless, a surplus remains to the West below the line and definitely not just with respect to the greater prosperity (in the 38th year of peace) but also with regard to that which is called "freedom" and as a rule assigned the attribute "bourgeois" by GDR ideologues in order to be arrogantly dismissed.

At the same time this is the reason why the German-German border cannot be made more porous in the foreseeable future, that travel can be eased only in tiny doses, that a "general freedom of travel to Western countries is quite unthinkable," as Erich Honecker emphasized in a 1977 interview.

with the SAARBRUECKER ZEITUNG. Already, thanks to the innerGerman agreements and the international recognition of the GDR, many applications for travel (to quote figures would yield astronomical dimensions) could even be submitted and are now waiting for exceedingly slow handling; the consequences of a more porous Western border or a cancellation of the order to shoot would be the same as 22 years ago, before construction of the Wall.

Incidentally, the West will have to gear itself to the fact that it will take the utmost tenacity of negotiations to achieve quite tiny advances. The performance-counter performance principle may be just about the best basis of negotiations. Seemingly favorable signals in these relations should not be too quickly hailed and valued.

Of course--and here I return to my prime concerns--the same holds true for cultural relations, because the arts--whether literature or painting--are an integral component of the socialist state structure and may be "arbitrarily exploited or suppressed," or because, to quote Stephan Hermlin, "their fate cannot be separate from the existence of the proletarian power." It seems to me that various cultural (and literary) events in the GDR tend to be subject to unduly hasty and optimistic evaluations in the sphere of German-German cultural relations.

Many reasonably adult and alert readers regard with the utmost suspicion and reserve a literature the authors of which dream all too reasonable dreams, dreams unable even to fully exploit that which is "feasible." These authors--by no means overvalued by the above cited readers, tend to be all too studiously involved in respecting the limits of the permitted license, pay "homage to the dictatorial rulers" at writers' congresses or at least did so in the past. This is a literature the writing and commercial processing of which is subject to almost total control by the most varied methods, which is largely written according to the lists of cultural wishes drawn up by these same rulers, which is asked for "unequivocal decisions for socialism" and which, if it fails to decide or makes a decision that lacks the desired clarity, must expect to be deprived of "every last piece of paper."

In conclusion I would like to quote from an "Open Letter," written by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn to the secretariat of the RSFSR Union of Writers in 1969--on the occasion of his exclusion from that union:

"...In this age of crisis you are demonstrating your incapacity to propose anything constructive or useful to possibly help our seriously sick society. All you know is your hatred, your vigilance. To obstruct everything, allow nothing to pass, that is your watchword...You do not recognize arguments, merely votes and administrative fiats... 'The enemy is listening,' that is your excuse... These eternal and all-present 'enemies' are a convenient justification for your functions, in fact your existence... You could not continue to live without 'enemies.' Hatred has become your sterile sphere, a hatred which is equivalent to race hatred. In this way, though, any sense of our homogenous humanity is lost and mankind's destruction speeded up thereby. Even physical circumstances require man to be free.

If he is put in chains, we will relapse into the conditions of animals. Frankness, genuine and complete frankness, is the very first condition for the health of any society--ours included..."

Those responsible for and creating culture in the GDR will have to decide whether frankness will be possible in the future. Let them note these words and understand that talk of peace abroad must at last be matched by effective reflections on the conditions for peace at home--with the involvement of all peaceable citizens. The free expression of opinions, uttered with impunity, and the readiness to dialogue are additional conditions for the health of any society, "...ours included."

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HEIGHTENED PROBLEM-AWARENESS AMONG YOUTH ADDRESSED

East Berlin PAEDAGOGIK in German Vol 39 No 7, Aug 84 pp 533-543

[Article by Reinhold Miller: "Values of Socialism and Development of Youths' Value Systems"]

[Text] One of the Tenth SED Congress targets for pedagogics consists in orienting youth even more consciously to those basic ideals and values of socialism, which increasingly govern the lifestyle of society and individuals in the further organization of the developed socialist society of the GDR. This applies to such basic ideals and values as the right to live in peace, the regard for socialism as a social system directed to peace and the contentment of all members of society, the equality of all citizens, their solidarity among themselves and with all peoples fighting for their national and social liberation from imperialist exploitation and oppression. It also applies to some other important values such as social security and faith in the future, a sense of community, comradely cooperation and mutual aid, the utmost esteem for effort at work and active readiness to learn, social justice and conscious social activism.

To make young people aware of these values and inspire them to actively commit themselves to their increasing realization as well as consciously to live by these precepts--that is one of the most important tasks of communist education in our age. In the past, discussions of these problems by pedagogics and philosophy, ethics, literary scholarship and other scientific disciplines assumed large dimensions and yielded many new results. In his address to the SED Central Committee Conference on Social Sciences, Kurt Hager said that "the social sciences, arts, media and all types of public cultural work must be concerned with continuing research into and active spreading of the ideals and values of life in socialism, a more effective education in conscious personal conduct."

The orientation of the Conference on Social Sciences to the increased spreading of socialist ideals and values, the improvement in the efficacy of moral education of the young generation and the consistent realization of our Marxist-Leninist educational ideal of an all-round developed socialist personality clearly demonstrates the close links between the educational conception adopted by the Eighth Pedagogical Congress and the overall policy of the party of the working class for the further organization of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

The Seventh SED Central Committee Plenum resolutions on the further increase in the economic capacity of our state by way of comprehensive intensification initiated a new stage in the realization of the party's economic strategy. They also mean raising the social import of education, increase the importance of the growth of the educational potential and its still better utilization for scientific-technological progress. At the same time growing significance is assigned the creative thoughts and actions of the working people, their activism at work and in their political labors, their understanding for the political class conflicts of our age, their general political and ideological consciousness.

#### Considering the Concrete Life Situation of Youth

When reflecting on the new tasks arising for the improvement of the social efficacy of training and education, especially the moral education of our youth, we are backed by a sound basis of successes and valuable experiences, founded equally on the consistency as well as the dynamism of our educational policy. Still, that which has been achieved is not yet that which may be achieved--that is something we have learned in our daily educational labors. At the Ninth FDJ Central Council Meeting, Margot Honecker said "that life constantly confronts us with new problems , adds new issues to the agenda. The further organization of our socialist social system constantly challenges everyone and, therefore the educators of the young, and these are new challenges at a higher level."<sup>2</sup>

The need even more effectively to spread socialist values presumes quite particularly the exact observance of those conditions within which the young of the 1980's "arrive at socialism."

Chief among these conditions is the fact that the struggle for the further organization of the developed socialist society and the security of peace are intertwined more intimately than ever. The report as well as the discussion carried on at the Conference on Social Science, the unity and interrelation of objective and subjective elements of this struggle was strongly emphasized. In this struggle political stability and political consciousness belong together just as much as economic dynamism and the line of the main task on the one hand, and the assurance of the greatest possible efficiency and readiness to serve of the working people on the other. This is one of the main reasons why, in conjunction with these processes, the objective challenges to the education and training of the young generation are also subject to a faster rate of change. It also includes the fact that political consciousness, the evolution of a scientifically based class standpoint are even more important now in the entire educational process. It will need joint efforts by philosophers and pedagogues to more profoundly examine the detailed political relevance of the above mentioned ideals and values of the socialist society, and study how our young people may be made conscious of them--relative to their respective age groups.

In connection with the philosophical, sociological and also pedagogical research on the dialectic of objective conditions and subjective factors, we have seen confirmed the standpoint that the objective conditions of

developmental and educational processes are not merely passive data, circumstances and prerequisites of these processes but exert an active effect on people. This is quite evident when we visualize the active role of the school as a social organism in the evolution of social experiences and moral behavior at the level of the experience of daily life, empirical knowledge and theoretical perceptions.

We need in particular to consider the fact that the same objective conditions may have very different effects on people, because they are absorbed by the "prism" of individual characteristics and experiences. The same conditions may arouse contradictory "re-actions" depending on the occupation of the individual, his age, social status, political-ideological standard and other personal features.

Consequent upon the 1982 Central Directors' Conference and the Ninth FDJ Central Council Meeting, where the common conception for the communist education of youth by the Ministry for Popular Education and the socialist youth federation was explained, the necessity arises with respect to the propagation of socialist values also to thoroughly examine the reserves hitherto undeveloped, the improvements needed in educational work due to the growing challenges. The exact description of the concrete historic and social conditions determining the subject matter and criteria of present-day communist education assumed great importance at the central council meeting mentioned earlier.

The following issues need to be emphasized:

First: Our young generation lives, studies and works at a time of revolutionary changes and severe class conflicts. The struggle for peace, for peaceful coexistence by states with different social systems, has now become the most vital issue for mankind and represents the most serious class conflict. Socialism is the strongest power countering the threat to peace by the aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism and NATO. Peace and socialism are indivisible.

How much the idea of peace has really been absorbed by the individual as a value of socialism, how it motivates his thoughts and actions--that is demonstrated mainly by actions designed to strengthen socialism, the ability and readiness to strengthen and defend the socialist society as a bastion of peace. This includes responsible work and political activism just as much as disciplined study and the preparation of our youth for the military defense of socialist accomplishments.

Second: Accompanying the further organization of the developed socialist society in the GDR are profound political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes both in the conditions and the contents of people's life processes. This has far reaching effects on the evolution of new needs and interests, the development of new kinds and forms of their social relationships, their moral values and behavior. The SED Central Committee Conference on Social Sciences stressed that we consciously use the term "organization" of the developed socialist society. That also includes the fact that this process

takes place only to the extent that the working class and the other working people allied with it consider themselves subjects of this conscious organization and, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, are making fully effective their function as subjects.

These historic facts of the matter objectively require us so to develop each person consonant with his individual talents and gifts as to make him capable and ready fully to play his social role as the individual subject of sociohistoric processes. "Knowledge and ability, ideological education, the expression of political standpoints, convictions and attitudes, the evolution of moral qualities, the shaping of the character and sentiments,"<sup>3</sup>--all these features characterizing the all-round education and development of the individual as a socialist personality--are indispensable conditions for his acting as a subject, a consciously acting co-organizer of the further advance of the socialist society.

The teaching of an active mental attitude has one of its most important objective foundations here. Of late individuality has increasingly been mentioned as a value of socialism. This specially indicates the importance of the individual peculiarities of each person, his specific abilities and talents for his work in society, for the conscious realization of his function as a subject, for the benefit of society and himself. It is evidently necessary now for philosophical and pedagogical scholarship more intensively to pursue the question of what is involved in the special potential of the young to be more effective as subjects, taking account of the age-specific features of their development and their occupation-related social environment.

A person the more easily perceives himself as a subject of his activity, as a co-organizer of social processes, and is all the more effective as a subject, the earlier he learns to accept responsibilities, the more he is directly involved in decisions that affect him or the sphere of his social activity. It is therefore immensely important for young people--in order to let them become subjects of their own life process--as early as possible to be assigned as much responsibility as possible, to be enabled correctly and effectively to use the powers thereby granted them, to make decisions and carry them out resolutely and also to cope with conflict situations in decisionmaking processes. Any excessive tutelage of children and youths, whether in the parental home or in the school or youth organizations is bound to be detrimental.<sup>4</sup>

Third: The education of people is always geared to the needs of the present and the future. It is the more effective the more accurately it anticipates the needs and conditions of future development, and if training is based on them. This is essentially the target of the current further textual definition of popular education.

The developmental trend of scientific-technological progress and the dynamic development of our national economy already show quite clearly that sound knowledge and skills are continuing to gain social importance as specific personality values. This is reflected in particular in the increasing value placed on work and performance. On the basis of the transition to



comprehensive intensification in the years to come, work and performance will be even more immediately determined by the ability and readiness to independently acquire new information and knowledge in accordance with the changing challenges of work. The flexibility of skilled workers in the year 2000 will be much more influenced by the dynamism of the national economy and require qualitatively more highly developed performance motivations, emphasis on "thirst for knowledge," on "curiosity about anything new" and pleasure in communication as important personal features.

The encouragement of such qualities is served by the orientation to an outstanding quality of instruction, a method for imparting and acquiring knowledge, which makes for sound knowledge and teaches people to think creatively, encourages consciousness of problems and provides the inspiration for intellectually tackling these same problems. Equally needed is the evolution of an active mental attitude which motivates people to consciously and with all their strength commit themselves to the realization of social interests, the discharge of assigned duties and help the principles of socialist attitudes achieve their full recognition. This also includes the ability and will to resolutely challenge modes of thought and behavior, which contradict the ideals and principles of the working class.

#### Self-Interpretation and Social Experiences

Among the other present conditions important for education is the fact that significant changes have occurred in the developmental standard and self-interpretation of the young. These factors command an outstanding place in the process of the evolution of socialist values. The self-confidence of our youth has grown alongside the improved educational standards of the 10-grade general educational polytechnical secondary school, and the young people's ambitions for greater independence in the organization of their lives have consequently increased. Their knowledge has grown, their experiences of social relations expanded--at school, during their studies, at work in the enterprise, in their leisure hours--and their thinking processes also have achieved a higher level. Therefore, as Gerhart Neuner stressed at the SED Central Committee Conference on Social Sciences, "young people view social processes with greater sophistication, wish to more profoundly comprehend the complexity and contradictions of the current international class conflict."<sup>5</sup>

The young people's awareness of problems has grown but tends often to be rather contradictory. Both these aspects are directly attributable to the circumstance that, alongside the expansion of their field of experiences, the young also more emphatically experience the variety and contradictions of experiences. The results of some studies show that students in grades 8-10 already boast of important experiences with regard to work in the enterprise and the political work of the youth federation as well as in their leisure occupations or their family life.

To a large extent these experiences are the result of their active involvement with the many requirements on them and the contradictory processes and phenomena of their social environment, which are often not obvious to them.

This stock of experiences is an important basis for their integration in the socialist society as a whole as well as in such social modes of life as class collective, work collective, FDJ group, leisure group, and others. The studies demonstrate the immense importance for the development of the personalities of our youth of positive experiences at work, in political activities and other spheres.<sup>6</sup> At the same time they draw our attention to important differentiating factors, the dependence of the positive effects of experiences on the standard of cooperation in production or the FDJ collective, on the standard also of student-instructor or student-teacher relations, on the confidential relations and atmosphere in the class room, the family, the leisure group or FDJ group.

Both positive and negative experiences have a very specific significance for the efficacy of the knowledge acquired. Positive experiences strengthen and confirm knowledge and therefore act as reinforcing factors in the shaping of convictions, and--conversely--knowledge provides the criteria for appraising experiences. Negative experiences, on the other hand, destabilize knowledge, arouse doubts, demonstrate contradictions between theory and practice, raise questions about already existing convictions; they may favor prejudices. In our age, also, we need to appreciate V.I. Lenin's suggestion that the particular qualities of youth must be taken into account, and that we must be well aware "that youth necessarily approaches socialism differently, not in the manner, nor the form nor the situation of their fathers."

Among the basic experiences of youth in our country is the fact that they consider as normal features of their lives many achievements of the struggles of the working class and all other working people--achievements which, for their elders, represent the result of hard work, immense personal and social effort and, often, major sacrifices and some defeats also. Cheap or free textbooks, vacation camps, Pioneer homes, secure professional education and social security, a secure job with good pay and development potential have all become normal features of daily life. This demonstrates the extent to which the benefits of our society are already firm elements of the socialist lifestyle.

Expressed hereby is a necessary aspect of the continuity of history, an essential aspect of the acquisition of the historic heritage by the respective succeeding generation. For socialism in our country, complete with all its accomplishments and benefits, to be considered the normal social system and mode of life by our young--that is quite all right and by no means signifies a deficit in their consciousness. It is all the more important, though, for them to learn to understand this as the result of long and self-sacrificing struggles by the proletariat, the best representatives of all working classes and strata, with the leadership of the party of the working class. Only those who properly realize that it needed hard and implacable struggles, that defeats had to be coped with--only those who appreciate what the sacrifices in this struggle actually mean--are able to arrive at this vital relationship to the achievements, to the total endeavor of the older generations--by not merely perceiving the accomplishments and achievements as a historical fact but also as a social value, significant for the present generation as well, as something indispensable to their lives and needing to be further developed, protected and defended.

## Giving the Value Concepts a Firm Scientific Basis

The concept of value is used in very different meanings by science, ethics, art, religion and daily conversation. It is used to define realities (socialism, social security) as well as desirable goals (peace, freedom, richness of personality), ideals (humanism, justice, equality) as well as principles of behavior (patriotism, proletarian internationalism). The ambiguity of the term "value" is even now the topic of many discussions in the various social sciences.

I agree with E. Hahn and W. Eichhorn that values in the meaning of dialectic and historic materialism are comprehensible rationally only when interpreted as "junctions," intellectual concentrates of the practical-mental incorporation of reality by socially active people.<sup>8</sup> Values or value concepts are among the ideological forms by which people are made conscious of and work through the conditions, contradictions and conflicts of their material life processes.<sup>9</sup>

Values and value concepts have their material source in a dual function of practice in the process of the practical-mental incorporation of reality. As Lenin wrote, practice serves "as a criterion of truth and also as the practical determinant of the connection between an object and that which man needs."<sup>10</sup>

It is the source of theoretical perception, of knowledge of the condition, qualities, structures and legitimacy of objects, quite regardless of the relationship to them assumed by man, and is consequently also the criterion of truth. At the same time it is the source of our perception of the importance of an object for men, classes and other social groups, for the satisfaction of their needs, the realization of their interests. Values and value concepts, therefore, are coupled with targets, goals, ideals, principles and other related ideological manifestations, by which people are made conscious of the significance of particular objective data of their social life process for the satisfaction of their needs and the realization of their interests, and by which they direct, motivate and control their actions.

The evolution and efficacy of valuation concepts are necessarily linked with the act of evaluation in the process of the practical-mental incorporation of reality. By evaluation man relates to himself, his interests and needs, the object of his practical or perceiving (theoretical) activity. E. Hahn wrote: "Evaluations therefore...mediate the relation between perception and reality (object) on the one hand and of perception and action (subject) on the other."<sup>11</sup>

Knowledge--in its unity of theoretical and empirical knowledge (experience)--and evaluation represent two indivisible aspects of the evolution of socialist value concepts. Only if education and instruction realize them in this their internal unity, do socialist value concepts evolve on their basis, and are party-like attitudes, a clear class standpoint and political and moral decisions consonant with socialist value concepts encouraged thereby. In the columns of PAEDAGOGIK, this set of problems has long been among the topics of discussions on various aspects of communist education. This applies quite particularly to issues of the ideological education of youth,<sup>12</sup> the conditions and methods of effective moral education,<sup>13</sup> and also involves very specific explanations on the dialectic of knowledge and moral valuations.<sup>14</sup>

## Peace as a Value in the Framework of Theoretical Perception, Evaluation and Direction of Action

In the present age, the more profound ideological explanation of peace as a basic value has achieved an unprecedented importance for education generally. What are the new problems and challenges thereby confronting pedagogy? Which value concepts must be more emphatically developed and scientifically buttressed?

Let me note first of all that the evolution of the relevant theoretical perceptions, evaluations and value concepts may not be restricted to instruction at school. Indeed it is an important concern of extracurricular events, the ideological activity in the Pioneer and FDJ organizations and other types of sociopolitical activism. As Gerhart Neuner emphasized at the Conference on Social Sciences,<sup>15</sup> the teaching of sound knowledge and the development of the ability to think confronts all these institutions with immense challenges. It holds true for all teaching at school and for events in the Pioneer and FDJ organizations that the persuasive force of teaching, of political information for the evolution of a clear class standpoint, of revolutionary fervor and forward urging activism crucially depend on the scientific standard of the approach, on the ability of knowledge in its various forms to contribute to the achievement of insight in the inevitable interrelations of social development.

Furthermore it is vitally important for the explanation of the definition of peace as a value of socialism to proceed in intimate connection with the illuminating and persuasive characterization of the nature of imperialism and the threat of nuclear war emanating from its most aggressive circles, namely U.S.imperialism and NATO.

Whenever the perceptions and evaluation of social processes are involved, which refer to the connection between imperialism and the threat of war or the essential unity of socialism and peace, the emotional relation of men to these processes is necessarily involved also. Without emotional response, there is no evaluation of social processes and manifestations affecting the vital needs and interests of mankind. Lenin wrote "that, without 'human emotions,' there has never been nor will be a search for truth by mankind."<sup>16</sup>

These emotions reflect approval and rejection, political sympathy with certain social and class forces or revolutionary movements. They also reflect hostility, disgust and hatred for inimical class forces and their policies. The emotional response of people, the older and younger generation, to the serious threat to mankind's continued existence by the militarist policy of the aggressive circles of U.S.imperialism and NATO currently has a very special meaning for the development of their attitude to the struggle for peace. More and more people the world over are gripped by profound anxiety regarding the question whether and how peace may be preserved. Depending on the extent of their scientific insight in the social circumstances causing this threat, their concern may either turn into the pessimistic emotion of fear and helplessness, thereby paralyzing action--or, if their insight is good enough, result in the active attitude of conscious commitment to the struggle for peace.

With respect to the ideological appreciation of peace as a basic value of socialism, it is of the utmost importance for education to succeed in linking theoretical perceptions on war and peace with scientifically established evaluations of the relevant social connections in order for the young to arrive at action-orienting personal conclusions and decisions.

I therefore fully agree with Siegfried Birkner who remarked that, in discussions on war and peace, on the military system and armed forces, an educator cannot confine himself to merely passing on information about the relevant facts. "He must provide values and encourage the student to appraise and judge the facts of the matter from the aspect of class interests (relations of interests) and standards of communist morality (moral relations) and thus lead them to their own party-like attitude."<sup>17</sup>

Of special significance for the understanding of peace as a value of socialism is the coupling of profound theoretical insights with scientifically based evaluations. Peace as a value of socialism and the unity of peace and socialism has its sound basis in the radical elimination of all social circumstances liable to cause wars. From the beginning of its arrival as an independent revolutionary force, the working class has been struggling for "a new society to arise, whose international principle will be peace because each nation is ruled by the same principle--labor."<sup>18</sup>

In the socialist society, peace is built on new socioeconomic and political foundations. The domination of the means of production by private owners is removed, and so is the related exploitation and the hostile conflicts between classes, peoples and nations. In socialism no class, no social group is interested in war because it might profit them in some way. On the basis of the political rule of the working class and its alliance with the other working people and social strata, the social relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid have become the dominating social relations among the working people within the socialist countries as well as among the peoples of various countries and nations.

Peace in socialism has thus assumed a new social and historic quality. No longer is it a certain kind of policy, next to another by which it may easily turn into war--as in capitalism. Instead it is the natural lifestyle of the peoples, appropriate for the socialist society and consonant with its nature. By its class nature it is the form of relations between working classes and social strata as well as among peoples and nations, appropriate to the social status of the working class,<sup>19</sup> and on the basis of which it is able to carry out its historic mission.

Peace as a value of socialism is therefore intrinsically and basically different from peace in the antagonist class society, both with regard to its class nature and its socialist content and form. It is essentially a just, democratic and permanent peace, based on community of interests and the coincidence of the fundamental vital interests of the working people in all socialist countries. The scientific comprehension of these qualitatively new social and political conditions (which have arisen by the evolution of socialism as an international system and the elevation of the working class and its allied working people to the main political force in the

struggle for peace) represent an important theoretical prerequisite for the teaching of materialist based value concepts of peace and its essential unity with socialism. Because only if the individual has become aware of the social forces alone able to secure peace and against whom this historic task must be accomplished, will peace related value orientations evolve and encourage a correct decision consonant with real circumstances.

E. Hocke and W. Scheler are quite correct in indicating that, without orientation to the main social forces, mainly able to bid halt to imperialist aggressiveness, the practical political consequences of an ethical motivation of the struggle for peace are bound to be faulty directions, deviations and lack of consistency with regard to the proper evaluation and decisionmaking in this struggle.<sup>20</sup>

Socialist is now the strongest force counteracting the threat of worldwide nuclear war. Analyzing the ratios of strength, the states of the socialist community arrived at the definite conclusion that it is possible here and now to "altogether banish the threat of war from the life of mankind, and that even before the socioeconomic bases of the imperialist system, militating for a policy of aggression, have been overcome. The necessary forces are available; in many respects they are stronger and greater than ever."<sup>21</sup>

#### Levels of Appreciation and Orientation to Action

The theoretical analysis of the causes and nature of wars and, in particular, the threat of a nuclear world war at the present time, necessarily results in the perception that the moral appreciation of war and peace needs to observe two levels.<sup>22</sup>

At the first level of the world historic contrast between the antagonistic class society and the communist social system, war--like all other ills of the exploiter system--appears as a barbaric affair, to be totally condemned from the Marxist standpoint. Lenin wrote that "socialists have always condemned wars among peoples as a barbarian and bestial affair."<sup>23</sup>

At the second level of appreciation of the class conflict within the antagonist class society and in the process of its revolutionary displacement by the communist social system, we must take into account the fact that there are wars and peace of a reactionary or progressive nature, and that we must therefore distinguish between just and unjust wars as well as between just and unjust peace from the aspect of historic progress.<sup>24</sup>

In view of the ominous implications of a potential nuclear world war at this time, the question of the moral justification or wickedness of such a war arises in quite a novel manner. Such a war would be the worst crime against mankind, because it would result in doom for entire peoples, cataclysmic destruction and dire consequences for human civilization and life on earth.<sup>24</sup> However, in case of imperialist nuclear attack on the socialist states, we would have no choice than a defensive war by the socialist countries against such aggression--to save mankind.

The theoretic perception and appreciation of the possibilities for securing peace therefore lead us to the conclusion that the political, economic and military strength of socialism is the most important guarantee for this. In accordance with our basic experience that, "the stronger socialism is--the more secure is peace," conscious action for the improvement of our economic strength also represents an important contribution to the reinforcement of the political stability and military defense capability of our state.

#### FOOTNOTES

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2. "Our Schools Train Fighters for Sozialism and Peace. Contribution to the Discussion by Margot Honecker, minister for public education, at the Ninth FDJ Central Council Meeting," PAEDAGOGIK, No 3/1984, p 179.
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4. See "Sozialismus und Ethik. Einfuehrung" [Socialism and Ethics. Introduction], Berlin 1984, pp 183ff.
5. Gerhart Neuner: "Awareness of Problems and Active Creative Attitudes-A Power for Education and the Work with Youth," in "Inevitabilities of our Age..." as before, p 118.
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7. V.I. Lenin: "Youth International," Collected Works, Vol 23, p 164.
8. See Erich Hahn: "Topical Philosophical Problems of Marxist-Leninist Value Perception," in "Wertauffassungen im Sozialismus" [Value Perceptions in Socialism], Berlin 1980, p 13.
9. See Karl Marx: "On the Critique of Political Economics. Foreword," Marx/Engels Collected Works, Vol 13, p 9.
10. V.I. Lenin: "Once More on the Labor Unions, the Current Situation and the Errors of Trotsky and Bukharin," Collected Works, Vol 32, p 85.
11. Erich Hahn: "Topical Philosophical Problems....," as before, p 13.

12. See Gerhart Neuner" "Ideological Education of Youth," PAEDAGOGIK, No 2/1982, pp 105ff; Horst Riechert, "On the Evolution of Political-Ideological Convictions and Attitudes of Senior School Students,": PAEDAGOGIK, No 12/1983, pp 913ff.
13. See Karl-Heinz Guenther: "Conditions and Means of an Effective Moral Education," PAEDAGOGIK No 7/8, 1983, pp 561ff; Edgar Drefenstedt: "The Significance of Moral Knowledge for the Communist Education of Youth," PAEDAGOGISCHE FORSCHUNG, No 5/1979; B. Bischoff/H.E. Reckling: "Problems of Communist Moral Education," PAEDAGOGIK No 12/1982.
14. See Siegfried Birkner: "To Lead the Process of Perception to Moral Appraisal," PAEDAGOGIK No 4/1983, pp 286ff.
15. See Gerhart Neuner: "Awareness of Problems....," as before, p 119.
16. V.I. Lenin: "Review. N.A. Rubakin, 'Among Books'," Collected Works, Vol 20, p 257.
17. Siegfried Birkner: "To Lead the Process....," as before, p 289.
18. Karl Marx: "First Address to the General Council on the German-French War," Marx-Engels, Collected Works, Vol 17, p 7.
19. See "Socialism and Ethics. Introduction," as before, pp 320ff.
20. See Erich Hocke/Wolfgang Scheler: "Die Einheit von Sozialismus und Frieden" [The Unity of Socialism and Peace], Berlin 1977, pp 262ff.
21. Kurt Hager: "Inevitabilities of Our Age....," as before, p 9.
22. See "Socialism and Ethics. Introduction," as before, p 321.
23. V.I. Lenin: "Socialism and War," Collected Works, Vol 21, p 299.
24. See "Political Statement by the Warsaw Pact Member Countries. Prague, 4/5 January 1983," Berlin 1983, p 8.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BISHOP NOTES INCREASING TRUST IN CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 24 Sep 84 p 1

/Article by K.-H. Baum: "Careless Remarks on Reunification Are Damaging"/

/Text/ Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the GDR Church Conference and consistory president of Berlin-Brandenburg, called "careless Sunday speeches on reunification" by FRG politicians as "tremendously damaging" to the hopes for improved travel opportunities of GDR citizens to non-socialist countries. Such improvements were demanded several times at this year's synod of the Conference of Evangelical Churches, which is taking place until Tuesday in the Pomeranian town of Greifswald. Stolpe, "quite personally," expressed the hope that the circle of persons entitled to travel, as well as the list of justifications for travel on urgent family matters, would be broadened. In Stolpe's words, a decision on this question will be "an expression of trust, of stability of the state and its will for peace" in the 35th year of the founding of the GDR state.

The upcoming celebrations of the 35th anniversary are under the motto, "The GDR is My Home." Stolpe remarked that one would also appreciate one's home "if one got to see a little more than just this home."

Previously, synod member Oswald Wutzke of Gartz/Oder also had taken the anniversary as an occasion to inquire whether it was not time to allow more visits to the FRG. The much too often restricted possibilities caused many people in the GDR to feel "great frustration, disappointment and bitterness."

Johannes Hempel, chairman of the GDR Church Conference and regional bishop of Saxony, was questioned about, and dealt with, the term "basic trust between state and church" which was used in the report by the church leadership. Between the socialist state and Christian churches there exists "a tradition of distrust," based on the experiences of 150 years between the revolutionary workers' movement and the Christian churches. Since the founding of the GDR, there were conflicts from the very beginning. March 6, 1978--the day when the GDR leadership and church leaders met officially for the first time--led

to basic clarifications in the relationship between church and state. According to Hempel, this experiment had not been without risk for the state, also.

Since 1978, the state has recognized the basic point that the independence of the churches makes sense for the state. The state also uses a more realistic approach to the churches, and it has been recognized that the churches are not enemies of socialism. The church, on the other hand, has learned that the state does not want to push church and Christians out of society, or even "assist in its death." This learning process was made possible through frank talks between the two sides. "Basic trust" between state and church in the GDR means also that in future, talks are "the means without a reasonable alternative" in order to make progress in conflicts.

For the first time at a synod of the GDR Church Conference, the subject of environmental protection was a separate item on the agenda. Goetz Planer-Friedrich, who heads the department of theological studies of the Church Conference, challenged the Christians in the GDR to give evidence of sacrifice, of cutting back, of a change in thinking. In the discussion that lasted almost 2 hours, synod members expressed regrets about a lack of state information on questions of environmental protection, but at the same time they admitted that the information policy had improved compared to past years. There were also complaints about the "suspicion" and "distrust" of state authorities toward church groups who concern themselves with environmental protection matters. Saalfeld superintendent Ludwig Grosse let it be known that at the end of August, official talks on questions of environmental protection had taken place between the church leadership and state authorities. The state side had declared that "every opportunity existed for practical and relevant cooperation."

At present, there is great demand for study places at church educational facilities in the GDR, which last year had to turn away many applicants for lack of space. According to the reports of the regional Protestant churches in the GDR, this year half the applicants could not be admitted. It is also said that the state sections for theology at the universities are completely filled. Church circles call this development a "clear trend reversal." However, it is not a matter of a clergy boom. With approximately 4,000 pastors working in the eight regional Protestant churches, several hundred parish incumbencies are vacant. In the estimation of members of the Evangelical Church Conference in the GDR, the record numbers of theology students would alleviate the pressing lack of clergymen, but would not be able to eliminate it.

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CABARETS COMPLAIN ABOUT LACK OF FREEDOM

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 12 Sep 84 p 5

[Article by M. Mara: "The Jesters of the Republic; An East Berlin Discussion About 'Kabarett heute' [Cabaret Today]]"

[Text] The question occupying many GDR citizens as to why there is no "public" discussion of the contradictions in GDR society was raised by Wolfgang Schaller, author and dramaturg of the political-satirical cabaret "Herkuleskeule" [Hercules' Cudgel] in Dresden, at a workshop discussion on the subject of "cabaret today." He finds at many a conference "that much is presented as if societal contradictions did not exist at all."

Schaller did not want to accept the arguments of "complicated conditions" and "special situation" as an excuse during the talks which took place in East Berlin in the State Committee for Entertainment. "As long as I have been writing for the cabaret, there has always been a special situation," the author said. But must one not, "during especially difficult times, talk particularly about the difficulties of these times?" Schaller added: "We always wonder, wide-eyed, that people come to us with the expectation: 'they tell it like it is'!"

Many GDR citizens are no longer satisfied that only cabarets "risk a lip" once in a while. They ask questions such as: "Frequently, in discussions do we not tiptoe around a subject when it concerns contradictions in connection with socialism?" Or they complain that things were not going well in their factories, but in the newspaper they only get to read "how terrific we are."

Cultural scholar Prof. Manfred Berger did not deny during the workshop discussion that "such phenomena" do occur. He claimed that no one wanted to "pretend they were not there." Party and state "are time and again involved in finding and solving contradictions in society." What everyone must learn is "to carefully analyze contradictions, to recognize their forms of movement, to influence their solution." This is especially true for the cabaret, also. Here, in fact, one is "not yet everywhere on top of the task."

Of course, this is least of all due to the intent of the cabaretists. In depicting contradictions, they walk a very narrow line, since they are not permitted to uncover the roots of certain societal conflicts. Quite a few subjects are taboo for cabarets. As far as functionaries are concerned, in the matter of cabarets the formulation still holds true, "politically clean, and a little letting off steam," as literary scholar Dr. Gisela Oechelhaeuser said at the workshop.

The "valve" function of the cabaret serves primarily for everyday annoyances and undesirable attitudes. "As long as it is a matter of individual attitudes which contradict the desired ideal," it is relatively simple for cabaretists, stated the director of the Leipzig "Pfeffermuehle" [Pepper mill], Rainer Otto. There the "point of attack" is clear. But when it concerns contradictions in society which cannot be solved at present, it becomes "very complicated."

As an example he mentioned the subject of environmental protection: "It is extraordinarily difficult to lump together our real problem, and the ways we attempt to solve them, with the catastrophes that happen nevertheless, without presenting it as if environmental damage is also immanent in socialism." He could understand why a number of good authors "capitulate—or produce wrong results."

In this, apparently the fear of possible consequences also plays a part. Literary scholar Dr. Oechelhaeuser called it "funny" during the workshop discussion "how we hamper ourselves through the fear of calling something a mistake, although we should know very well that we make headway when we classify a mistake openly as a mistake." The fear of calling things by their names is the result of the party's and state's distrust of satire, which in the opinion of some functionaries should only be used if it is directed against the "class enemy."

The director of the "Pfeffermuehle" minced no words: there are still "partners in society" who, "out of helplessness vis-a-vis the artistic methods of the cabaret, and sometimes out of fear of unintended effects... distrust cabaretistic criticism." They come with reservations and restrictions, set up taboos, instead of giving every opportunity, all possible help, to the cabaret so that it can fulfill its role.

Of course, under such conditions it is also extremely difficult for cabarets to tackle contradictions and to contribute to their solution, as is demanded of them. SED Politburo member Kurt Hager, at the SED social science conference held late last year, did call for "taking away the stigma of negativism" from contradictions, otherwise they would "not be recognized in time, or are hushed up, which could aggravate them under certain circumstances." He pleaded for solving contradictions "in a constructive manner," which also makes criticism a necessary part. But as everyday life demonstrates, the party cannot jump over its own shadow.

OFFICIAL ON NEW WAGE REGULATION, ENTERPRISE CATEGORIES

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian No 36, 8 Sep 84 pp 34-35

[Interview with Laszlo Pongracz, main department head at the State Wage and Labor Office, by Julia Gati: "The Wage Field"]

[Text] Further Development of Economic Management

Miklos Pulai and Ferenc Vissi wrote in the most recent issue of TARSADALMI SZEMLE in their article entitled "During Work": "The essence of directions and proposals for further development which have been developed is to increase enterprise independence on the basis of greater interest and acceptance of greater risks, to broaden the effect of the regulated market's mechanism, to strengthen the efficiency of governmental guidance in the processes which basically determine the economy's growth, and in the interest of this to modify its circle of tasks as well as the system of connections it has developed with the enterprises." In recent weeks and in the present issue of our paper, we tried to show the way the general principles of further developing the economic management are reflected in 10 partial areas: enterprise management, national economic planning, market regulation, the flow of capital, the price system, regional development, income regulation, regulating foreign trade, coordination of economic interests, and last but far from least, in earnings regulation. We asked Laszlo Pongracz, main department head at the National Wage and Labor Office, about next year's changes in this matter.

[see Figure, next page]

2. 10.

Hó	Óra	Nap	Alapbér	Viz. sz.	Éjj. pótl.	Tégl. pótl.	% v. prém.	Viz. sz.	Mp.	Bérlap	%
VII		22	4000.-	310.	350.	250.	1400	-		6310	568

1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 11. 12.

19.

Előleg	Tűzölő	Értéktör.	Ért. sz.	Nettó bér	Cs. pótl.	Ért. sz.	Ért. sz.	Nh.	Holgató neve és beosztása
150	200	600	1518	4792.-	2180.-	50	7032.-		Kiss Peter

13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 20. 21. 22. 23.

Figure 1. The "shirttail", or officially, wage payment record. Will it be filled out differently next year?

Key:

1. Month: VII [July]
2. Hour
3. Day: 22
4. Base wage: 4000.-
5. Paid lunchtime: 310.-
6. Night differential: 350.-
7. Overtime differential: 250.-
8. Percent miscellaneous premium: 1400.-
9. Paid holiday: --
10. Mp [expansion unknown]
11. Wage base: 6310.-
12. Percent: 568
13. Advance: 150
14. Home heating fuel: 200
15. Garnishment: 600
16. Amount subtracted: 1518.-
17. Net wage: 4792.-
18. Family supplement: 2180.-
19. Health maintenance:
20. Laundry: 50
21. Amount paid out: 7032.-
22. Nh [expansion unknown]
23. Worker's name and employee number: Peter Kiss

[Question] Wage regulation has received much criticism in recent years, it is being mentioned that the primary function it fulfills is to limit the purchasing power. At the same time the incentive effect of the wage of increasing productivity has taken the back seat, narrowing the enterprise's operating space. Can a modification of proportions be expected in the incentive and restrictive functions of wages and earnings?

[Answer] The main goal of the changes which will go into effect next year is that regulating the earnings should provide a better incentive for

increasing efficiency. That is, at the present time there is a very large difference between the tax paid on the volume of wages paid out and the tax burden on the wage increment. The burdens of raising wages are so great at the enterprises that, for example, they can afford to raise wages by only 5 to 8 forints for a 100 forint savings in materials. Thus the goal is to approach the burdens of the wages paid out and the earnings increment in such a way that in the case of the above example it should be possible to pay as high as 20 to 40 forints in wage increases--in a really incentive manner--for this much savings. Since the costs of live labor are now even lower for the enterprises than the costs of regenerating manpower to society--and this leads to wasting manpower--we would like to make the burdens of live labor to the enterprise approach what is realistic.

[Question] How are these principles implemented in practice?

[Answer] Beginning with 1985 we will list the enterprises into 3 types of earnings regulation categories. There will be the so-called earnings level regulation, earnings increment regulation and central earnings regulation. Enterprises in the first group will have to pay as wage tax to the budget 10 percent after the full volume of the wages from the profit, in addition to the 40 percent social security contribution, in accordance with the general enterprise income regulation. Besides this, calculated for each individual, graduated progressive tax must be paid after the earnings paid. With this the often criticized regulation built on the base theory will be eliminated, since it will not matter how much the increment is from one year to the next. At the enterprises belonging to the earnings level regulation group nobody guarantees the wage level that was reached in the previous year because each year it will be whatever the economic operating organization can pay if it can tolerate the tax burden attached to that particular earnings level.

[Question] How will the other two regulation groups differ from this?

[Answer] The enterprises belonging to earnings increment regulation will next year in addition to the social security contribution and the 10 percent straight wage tax also continue to pay tax on the wage increment, but at reduced rates compared to earlier. That is, in this case the operating space of the enterprises will increase, they will be given a freer hand for incentives tied to higher performances. That is, the previous 300-1500 percent wage increment tax will decrease to 150-450 percent. In the third case, the central earnings regulation, as even the name indicates, we will centrally determine the tax-free area of wage increases in harmony with the national economy's average payment of nominal wages. The enterprise can also raise wages over and above this, assuming that it will also accept the tax consequences for it.

[Question] On the basis of what viewpoints will the enterprises be placed into a specific earnings regulation category?

[Answer] The basic viewpoint is that average wage regulation should be eliminated in those areas where the economic competition, the price and cost

sensitivity of the enterprises can control the outflow of wages that are out of proportion with performance. For the other economic operators one type of average wage regulation will continue to remain in effect. Division into the three categories is done on the basis of the following considerations. We identify those areas which will come under central wage regulation. These will be, among others, the sphere of community and other services, coal mining, the electrical energy industry, that is, all those areas where the interest in profit is in force to only a limited extent. Theoretically everyone else comes under earnings level regulation, unless they must be excluded because of their monopoly position or because of the lack of a market where by raising the prices they could pass on the cost increases resulting from wage raises. Therefore these latter will be in the earnings increment regulation group which will not be very large.

[Question] According to this the camp of those under earnings level regulation will be the most populous one. At the same time the tax burdens will be the most severe here. What will happen to those enterprises which cannot overcome these burdens?

[Answer] If an enterprise is unable to bear such tax burdens it can opt for earnings increment regulation. But if this is what they decide on, they cannot revert to the old status for 3 years. The opportunity also exists for transfer into the so-called "strict central regulation" group where the possibility for raising wages tax-free is 2 percent, and the enterprise may add to this a maximum of 1-percent taxed wage raise. But if its economic results justify, then after one year it may return from the strict economic operation system to the group where it belongs on the basis of its speciality branch categorization.

[Question] It appears that earnings level regulation will be the format which offers the enterprises the largest amount of operating space, assuming that they have the means to pay for the "operating space." Knowing the neuralgic points of economic management, aren't you afraid that earnings will "run away" at some enterprises and you will have to resort to the tool of raising prices in the name of regulating purchasing power, which will also hurt others?

[Answer] Earnings level regulation also provides the opportunity to raise wages more for better performances, but not without any conditions. The index number for the relationship between the per capita value added by the enterprise and the wage must not deteriorate. But if the growth rate of the added value falls short of the rate of the wage increase, the "unjustified" wage increase is taxed by an increment tax the size of which decreases each year. With this we would like to prevent the outflow of additional wages gained without additional performance. But your question is onesided. We must expect that there will be enterprises not only better but also worse than the average, where even the payment of taxes corresponding to the previous year's wage volume will cause difficulties. Here they will actually have to resort to the methods of wage leveling and employment cutbacks.



[Question] That is, some people will be forced to look for new jobs, and others will have to be satisfied with lower pay than before?

[Answer] As far as the second half of the question is concerned, according to the statutes the base wage cannot be decreased in the same job assignment yet the variable parts of the earnings, the rewards and premiums can. We must also expect that manpower migration will be larger than before, which in the case of some individuals may even mean changing professions and residences. But we are not concerned about unemployment, since at the present time the job placement offices alone have a record demand for 80,000-90,000 persons by the enterprises, while the number of people seeking jobs is barely 2,500-3,000.

[Question] People are obviously more concerned about the way these enumerated changes will affect the content of the envelope at the beginning of the month. How big is the wage difference going to be between the enterprises which are working well and the ones not doing so well?

[Answer] Who knows? For example, even until now the enterprises have been able to distribute the 2-percent per year wage improvement possibility by, let us say, not increasing the wages of some workers and giving 10-percent raises to others. In the future as well it will be a question decided by the enterprises whose wages will be raised and by how much within the framework that is determined by their economic operation, and how much of the profit generated will be used for wage increases.

But it must be discussed openly that the danger of reduced earnings also exists. Yet well-operating enterprises will increase their ability to keep their manpower because of the very reason of higher wage paying opportunities and we also expect this to initiate more rational manpower regrouping processes than we have today.

[Question] Nowadays many people consider the enterprise work association [VGMKs] to be magnates between the limitations raised by the wage regulation, since the enterprises can account the wage paid to the VGMK as cost, thereby relieving the enterprise's wage fund. Is this negative evaluation reflected in the new regulation?

[Answer] The contract fees paid to the VGMKs will continue to appear as costs to the enterprises. But it is conceivable that since through the new earnings regulation the workers outside the VGMKs can also receive higher wages in proportion with their performance, there will be less interest in the VGMKs. In addition the rise in the cost sensitivity of enterprises will sooner or later create a situation where it will be just as "expensive" to pay in the form of costs as in the form of wages.

[Question] Will there be changes in the earnings and interests of enterprise management?

[Answer] The so-called complex rewards of the past will be eliminated, there will be only a premium over the base wage. Two-thirds of this--

according to central regulation--will be determined by the size of the profit with respect to the enterprise's property. And the remaining one-third can be assigned as goal premium by the employer--ministry, board of directors or enterprise collective--for carrying out various tasks.

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CSO: 2500/3

## SEJM SOCIOECONOMIC COUNCIL MEETS TO RATE REFORM PROGRESS

Baka, Jaruzelski Addresses

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Sep 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] The Sejm Socioeconomic Council conferred on the 17th of this month, with the chairman of the Council of Ministers, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, taking part. An assessment draft of a report on the process of implementation and the results of the 1983 economic reform and an assessment draft of the projections for the Central Annual Plan for 1985 were examined.

The deliberations, in which the marshal of the Sejm, Stanislaw Gucwa, also took part, were presided over by Prof Jozef Szczepanski.

The biggest discussion arose out of the assessment draft concerning the economic reform. In presenting the report on its institution, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Government Wladyslaw Baka stated that the assessment presented by the council will be treated as the expression of social supervision over the course of changes taking place in the Polish economy, the institution of which was approved by the Ninth PZPR Congress and which acquired their present shape as economic reform as a result of the legislative work of the Sejm. Speaking of the course it has taken, he stated that in 1983 progress took place on the road of economic reform and in the system by which enterprises function. However, if we have worked up a coherent system of reform mechanisms on the conceptual level, then in the sphere of implementation we can say that we are only on the beginning of the road. The new economic tools put into the hands of the management at enterprises, and also into the hands of worker self-government, have not yet been fully utilized. Certain small changes in social consciousness have also been observed. One currently notices greater public understanding of economic changes and economic mechanisms than was the case several years ago.

The year 1983, the speaker emphasized, and also the present year, prove irrefutably that the reform has not weakened the effectiveness of central planning. There is an increasing conviction that independence means subordination to the basic goals of a socialist economy and to a particular style of administration. One can also speak about the new quality of relations

between the enterprise and the parent firm, although attempts to return to management of enterprises by directive still occur.

Next, Minister Baka discussed the basic working elements of the reform. Last year, he said, many problems were brought to light. The subject of greatest concern is the reciprocal formation of the wage-price relationship and also the question of improvement in the quality of production. In the opinion of the plenipotentiary, the problems connected with scientific and technical progress and its institution were not solved. There has already been a certain improvement here, but it is hard to acknowledge it as adequate. Minister Baka also polemicized with some assertions contained in the assessment draft of the Socioeconomic Council.

The contents of this draft, prepared by a task force in the council, were presented by its chairman, Aleksander Kopec. Included among the positive phenomena in the draft were, among other things, social sense and a belief that the mechanisms connected with the reform create a guarantee that permanent growth tendencies in industry and the economy will be initiated. Negative phenomena include the fact, as stated by A. Kopec, that it has been forgotten that the reform itself and its mechanisms belong to society and must have the approbation of society. In the opinion of the speaker, this was not always abided by. A minus for the institution of the reform, in the opinion of the authors of the draft, was also the low level of performance and effectiveness of investment processes in the economy and significant exceeding of planned investment outlays; the reform mechanism did not guarantee the realization in this area of the economic policy formulated in the plan.

The assessment draft also covered the question of inflation and the difficulty of connecting wages with work results. The task force also did not agree with the point of view contained in the report that one cannot determine a strict connection between the foundations and mechanisms of the reform and the formation of workable economic processes.

In its assessment, the task force devoted one of its points to the matter of prices. In it they declared that in each case prices should be a parameter independent of the enterprise. Of such a type are exclusively official prices. At the same time, regulated and contractual prices can, as indicated, function in conditions of market stability, which is now lacking. This is also why a postulate was formulated to form a wage policy. In the opinion of the authors of the assessment draft, it would be advisable to introduce factory prices arising out of reasonable costs and retail costs formulated by an organ outside the enterprise.

#### Discussion

Many polemical remarks directed at the council's assessment draft as well as at the report about the reform were voiced in the opinions presented. Professor Jozef Pajestka maintained that in evaluating the effects of the reform, one cannot apply the division whereby one thing is the effect of government action and another that of the reform. According to the speaker,

one also cannot agree with the thesis contained in the assessment draft that the economic reform was a factor that stimulated the process of inflation. This was inevitable under conditions of a decline in the national income. He also questioned the thesis that the subject of the reform ought to be the ministry branches and large economic organizations which operate on the basis of factory prices. This kind of reasoning, said J. Pajestka, indicates a return to the 1950's.

The reform process was evaluated positively, among others, by Stanislaw Wereszczynski from the Wysoka State Farm. He stated that the reform, which had been introduced into agricultural farms half a year earlier, created new conditions for development. The fears that if indices and orders were eliminated, people in state farms would not want to work, were not borne out. The results presently reached attest to the contrary.

In the discussion, attention was also drawn to the disturbing phenomenon of exploiting new bases for remuneration as a pretext for increased wages. As Kazimierz Rugar stated, the director of the Provincial Branch of the Polish National Bank in Rzeszow in this way gets people used to asking how much money they will get and not how much more they can earn for better work. The speaker also expressed concern over the relatively small scale and slow rate of the structural changes that have been achieved. It is worthwhile to note the statement of Prof Teodor Kramer, who said that the arguments surrounding contractual prices have a substitutional character. Objections to contractual prices are simply the expression of civic discontent with a bad market. In his opinion, one cannot agree with the views promoted at one time that the economic reform means the replacement of planning by the play of the market. The center has at its disposal a sufficiently large quantity of parameters which allow for the implementation of a varied economic policy.

In some of the speeches it was pointed out that the authors of the report on the reform did not specify the criteria for an appraisal of effectiveness in management and rise in production, and that an answer is also required to the question of the extent to which the reform effectively checks inflation. Also mentioned was the necessity of working out effective mechanisms which would stimulate the development of the infrastructure. Other speakers, Prof Kazimierz Kakol among others, pointed to the need to strengthen the central plan and create a system guaranteeing greater agreement of the enterprises' plans with it.

In the discussion there was no lack of workers' voices. Stefan Kochanczyk from the Plock Mostostal enterprise pointed out, for instance, the shortcomings in the system of supply flow of materials. Materials, he said, are lacking not only at "ordinary" construction sites, but also those encompassed by government orders. He also brought into relief the problem of the economy with labor. Qualified construction workers are leaving construction work while the administrative-office personnel remains stable. It was also said that the mechanisms of reform have not yet reached the ordinary worker. It must be translated into a simpler language which is accessible to all working people.

Speech by Gen W. Jaruzelski

The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, expressed thanks for the invitation to the meeting of the PRL Sejm Socio-economic Council and emphasized that its creation and activity strengthens our national parliamentarism. In creating an important forum for the expression of opinions from various groups of people, the premier said, it helps the Sejm and also the government in their choice of the optimal, from the social point of view, solutions and decisions. With reference to the main subject discussed at the council meeting, the question of economic reform, W. Jaruzelski emphasized that it has become a permanent element in the socioeconomic life of the country. It is a constituent part of the line of socialist renewal, realized in accordance with the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

The reform, however, is not a self-acting system and mechanism; its success depends, as does that of any job after all, on people, their consciousness and activity. This lays responsible tasks on us all, for there are still many difficult problems before us. But we also have tremendous reserves. The reform, its mechanisms perfected to the extent of acquired experience, should lead to their better utilization.

After the discussion, the Socioeconomic Council accepted the assessment draft concerning economic reform, taking into account the suggestions voiced by individual speakers.

Next, the assessment concerning the projections for the Central Annual Plan for 1985 were looked into. The draft of this assessment took a critical attitude toward certain postulates adopted there. Pointed to, for instance, was the insufficient increase in the supply of foodstuffs planned for next year. The overly vague designation of increase in supplies of non-food goods was also a shortcoming. Various inconsistencies in the proposed tasks in the area of housing construction were emphasized. The feasibility of the plan in this area in connection with the anticipated considerable shortage of certain materials, among them metallurgical products, was questioned. In the assessment draft, the overly, as it was described, optimistic statement that an increase in production in 1985 will be the result entirely of an increase in work productivity was called into question. Much attention was also devoted to the problems of investment, emphasizing among other things the lack of a long-range program adapted to the economic situation of the 1980's.

Discussion and further work to establish the final text of the council's assessment concerning the basis for the Central Annual Plan for 1985 will be continued on the 18th of this month.

Conservation Program, LOT Bill

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Sep 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] On the 18th of this month the PRL Sejm Socioeconomic Council continued its deliberations. Work on the

assessment of the projections for the Central Annual Plan for 1985 was completed, and assessment drafts of the implementation of the conservation program and the government draft of a bill on the state enterprise PLL LOT were examined. The marshal of the Sejm, Stanislaw Gucwa, took part in the deliberations.

In opening the meeting, the chairman of the Socioeconomic Council, Prof Jan Szczepanski, informed the assembled that those were already the final deliberations he would be chairing. This fact is connected with his work on his next scholarly book. The representatives of the Central Crafts Union, who participated in the meeting, presented the professor with the highest honor awarded for service to the crafts trade, the Jan Kilinski medal.

The marshal of the Sejm, Stanislaw Gucwa, thanking Prof Szczepanski for leading the council's work from the beginning of its existence up to now, stated that its work is very necessary to the Sejm.

Assessing the work of the council and thanking them for the words of recognition, Prof Szczepanski said that the council never proclaimed opposition to the government's work but also was not a clique. In its activity it was led by good judgment emerging from the experience of various social circles and trade groups.

Next, work was continued on the preparation of an assessment on the subject of the projections for the Central Annual Plan for 1985. The final draft of the assessment was adopted.

The council then examined the assessment of the achievements of the 1983 conservation program. It was presented in the name of the workers' group by Prof Teodor Kramer.

The speaker emphasized that the main instrument for the program's realization should be the economical mechanism in the economic reform. Unfortunately, such mechanisms have not been implemented up till now. In such a situation the necessity arose to work out a government conservation program which above all through the help of instruments of direct influence would encourage the realization of conservation tasks by economic units.

The effectiveness of previous solutions and instruments of realizing a conservation program, it is maintained in the assessment draft, is varied and in general inadequate. The basic instrument of conservation, said Prof Kramer, is always the economical-financial system of economic units, forcing rational administration by agents of production and labor intensiveness and appropriate pricing of goods. All this together should lead to their economical utilization. For this reason one should also acknowledge economic stability as a necessary condition for economical management and the creation on this basis of normal market turnover of fabricating materials and raw materials along with the elimination of the monopolistic situation in production and trade and the elimination of superfluous intermediary links.

Many examples of still constantly occurring waste of raw materials and fabricating materials and financial resources were presented in the discussion over the assessment.

The council accepted the assessment, taking into account the suggestions and comments presented by individual speakers.

Next, the draft assessment of the draft of a government bill about the PLL LOT State Enterprise was looked into. As stated, the authors of the draft strove to create a legitimate regulation which on the one hand would take into account the specifics of the enterprise, and on the other would conform, on the widest possible scale, to the solutions adopted in the bill concerning the state enterprise and work force self-management. In general, the draft of the statute fulfills these demands. The members of the council also submitted proposals for many detailed changes to the draft bill.

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CSO: 2600/6



## DEVELOPMENT, CONTRIBUTIONS OF MILITIA PRAISED

LD052255 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 5 Oct 84

[Text] And now as announced we broadcast extensive excerpts from the speech delivered by General Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs, during today's solemn meeting in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture and Science to mark the Fortieth Anniversary of the formation of the Civil Militia [MO] and the Security Services [SB].

[Begin Kiszczak recording] Esteemed assembly! Protecting the People's State, its achievement and potential, its key interests, against all threats; protecting the life, health and property of citizens from crime; and combatting the phenomena which give birth to crime: these are the fundamental goals and tasks of the public law and order and security bodies. In order to fulfill these tasks, in July 1944 by force of a law of the first people's parliament, of the National Council of the Homeland, the Ministry of Public Security, as a constituent part of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, and then by force of its decree of 7 October--the MO was formed. The first cells of the people's power arose on the liberated territory, often spontaneously--units of the SB and MO. They sprang up from among the ranks of the working class, the peasantry, and the progressive intelligentsia. Its social makeup testified most eloquently to the class, proletarian and plebeian character of the new apparatus. Toward the end of 1945, over 66 percent of officials were workers, and almost 23 percent peasants. There were also members of the Polish Worker's Party, of the Polish Socialist Party and the Peasants' Party [Stronnictwo Ludowe], the Union of Youth Struggle, soldiers of the Polish People's Army, partisans from the People's Army and the Peasants' Battalions. Rank-and-file members of the home army also joined. A key role in the formation of the public order and security bodies was played by the party. Its members constituted and constitute to this day, a fundamental and decisive part of the MO and SB. The ranks of these bodies also included and include numerous people of no party. The newly-formed apparatus of public order and security bore the main burden of the struggle against the internal class opponent, who, aided by the Western anticommunist forces, and making use of terror, sabotage and subversion imposed a sharp struggle upon the young state, kindled numerous hotbeds within it, and tried to unleash civil war. The people's authorities constantly wished to avoid fratricidal struggles. They aimed at limiting the security and scope of conflicts. One sign of

this was the abundance of amnesties. Nevertheless, the directive centers of the underground and the international forces of imperialism, opposed to the progressive transformations underway in Poland, entangled certain groups in our society in struggle against the authorities. Between the years 1944 and 1948, all in all about 3,500 illegal political organizations and armed reactionary groups of various kinds were active in Poland. The underground carried out over 54,000 anti-state and terrorist acts, including many bestial actions, individual and group murders, including women and even children. The struggle against reaction cost the lives of over 12,000 SB and MO officials, soldiers of the Polish Army, of the Internal Security Corps, of the border protection troops, and members of the Voluntary Reserve of the Civic Militia [ORMO].

In addition some 10,000 political and social activists, as well as non-party citizens actively joining the current of new reality, have perished. This data not only characterizes the intensity of the armed class struggle, but also the role and place of our apparatus in the defense of the people's rule.

Such as the price of fratricidal clashes extorted by the camp of the Polish reaction. However, already then, even though socialism had not yet consolidated its position in Poland, the attempts to oppose the historical processes of revolutionary transformations were doomed. The determined struggle against reaction made unleashing a civil war on a larger scale impossible.

It confirmed that in the epoch-making, dramatic movements, courageous decisions and actions have also a humanist sense, as they check counterrevolution, they safeguard the country against tragedy. On the 40th anniversary of the founding of the security services and the MO we bow our heads before the heroism and selflessness of all defenders of the people's rule, those who fell and those who are today among us. (applause)

Their deeds and sacrifice will remain in the memory of the community, they will remain in the best traditions of our department, as a priceless factor of its ideological and moral might. Wholehearted memory is deserved by the part played by the security and MO apparatus in the liquidation of the effects of war. In frontier areas it cooperated with units of the Soviet Army and the Polish People's Army, in the cleansing of the homeland from the remnants of the withdrawing enemy.

It fought against espionage and subversive groups. At the same time, it participated in bringing the country up out of wartime ruins, in the rebuilding of social and economic life. The Polish militiaman with the white and red armband were often a signal of Polish rule, the sole guarantee of personal safety for thousands of Polish pioneers and settlers.

Great effectiveness was called for in the participation in the integration of the western and northern territories with the homeland. The officials of the department secured and protected human property. [Word indistinct] the vast migrations of the population at that time. They took part in reconstruction and development of these lands, in sowing and harvesting campaigns.

Today, the Polish soldiers is on duty on the Odra, Nysa Luzyczna and the Baltic, where as the soldiers of the Internal Affairs Ministry protect law and public order in the lands where the Polish character is restored forever by a just verdict of history.

The socialist system, the system of social justice creates the conditions for versatile development of human personality and exerts clear influence on reduction in crime. And this crime, evaluated on the basis of data for many years, has been and continues to be at a decidedly lower level than in Western countries. It is obvious that at the present stage of history, it is not going to be possible completely eliminate crime as an incidental phenomenon of public life. However, we have to restrict it in the maximum possible way. That is why we attach so much importance to the causes which give birth to crime. The struggle against manifestations of arising evil and against social pathology has been and continues to be one of the most important directions of our work. Among others, for this purpose we have developed broad preventive activity for the benefit of children and young people. Within its framework we organize specialized care and educational establishments. We have created a specialized children's service, unknown in many countries.

Along with the whole country, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has travelled a complex path of development. There were difficult moments and errors in the method of exercising state power which, especially in the fifties, led to people suffering wrongs and various injustices. The party has evaluated the past period uncompromisingly, honestly and frankly. The line of socialist renewal, accord and struggle the line laid down by the Ninth extraordinary PZPR Congress, establishes a system of guarantees. There can be no repeat of deviations from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and from the socialist law-observance. (applause)

The Internal Affairs Ministry too has learned all its lessons and drawn all conclusions. In any case, the absolute majority of our officers has always carried out its duties according to law and in accordance with the interests of the people's state.

It is an indelible part of Polish history that in all complex situations they stated their unambiguous support for the principles guaranteed in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

Comrades! Imperialism, and American imperialism above all, is attempting today to dominate the world. The Western powers are reneging on their undertakings. Thus they, and in particular the current administration of the United States, bear the responsibility for the present state of international relations, and for having brought the threat of nuclear war nearer. Particularly inadmissible are attempts to undermine the legal validity of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements which determine the postwar shape of Europe. Nor can we overlook the theses voiced in the FRG to the effect that the so-called German question is open, or the official, state and legal doctrine of the territorial shape of Germany within the borders of 1937, or the fictional problem of a German minority in Poland. Imperialism's attempts to dismantle the system of peaceful coexistence are accompanied with an

intensification of attacks on the socialist countries. A particular result of this was the threat to our state. It manifested itself in all its sharpness in the first years of the eighties. The socioeconomic crisis and the tensions that arose out of it were exploited to unleash an anarchosindicalist element [zywiol], allied to classic reaction. The economy was ravaged, the public and state organism was destabilized, the situation was heading toward a national catastrophe. This was to be the way of the liquidation of socialism in Poland, of taking Poland out of the socialist community.

The well-known decisions of December 1981 frustrated these calculations. This was no easy thing. It was a difficult test and a severe examination of properly-conceived duty to the people's state and the nation as a whole. We believed profoundly that in the final instance, sooner or later, our actions would meet with social understanding and support. We have not been disappointed in these expectations. (applause)

The Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic operating at that time in conjunction with the officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have honorably discharged their patriotic duty. Today we address words of cordial friendship to the soldiers of the Polish People's Army, who, when need arose, have undertaken together with us actions designed to restore public calm, revert danger from our people's state. (applause)

Today the premises of tension and discords are being constantly reduced and gradually eliminated. The susceptibility toward destabilizing activities is being reduced. The national economy is gradually regaining equilibrium. This is above all the result of the patriotic, civic stance of the working class, the preponderant majority of the working people.

Our services can operate with full efficacy only when guided by the ideological and political inspiration from the party. It sense behind it the understanding and support on the part of fundamental strata of the nation, above all the workers. We feel and value highly this support. We notice that the working man is rejecting false prophets and wants to realize in peace the line of socialist renewal to build the future of Poland.

Despite this, the anti-state ringleaders, oblivious of recent lessons and experiences try under new conditions, often under deceitful slogans, to implement their old anti-socialist objectives. The action of all echelons of the protection of the legal order yield meaningful results noticed with increased frequency by the community. The crime detection rate has improved. Order has been restored in public places. Safe conditions have been ensured for the work and life of the citizenry.

The fight against all types of social pathology has been stepped up. This process continues. The point of our actions is directed now and will be directed in the future, always, against everyone and all who disturb these processes. At the same time we approach with understanding and patience human doubts, traumas and perplexity.

We expect and wish that all those, who today are still mistrustful, disoriented, would find at the earliest opportunity satisfaction out of common work for the good of the socialist fatherland. (applause)

Forty years have brought us much experience in the struggle with various actions taken by external and internal enemies of socialism. Western intelligence centers conducted and continue to conduct spying activities against Poland on a large scale. The American intelligence with support of special services of some other Western states, directs and finances centers of subversion which bring together emigres hostile to People's Poland and the internal opponents of socialism. For this purpose, money and various other means are sent to the country from the West. That is where the concepts and programs are wrong. This is antisocialist activity which at the same time is anti-Polish. As historical experiences shows, the logic of class struggle inevitably drives the opponents of socialism into positions incompatible with the national interest and the Polish *raison d'etat*, drags them into the quagmire of national betrayal whether they want it or not. It is not by chance that the emigre and domestic political disrupters accept the American policy of unlawful economic restrictions against Poland. Unanimity between the West German revisionists and some native opponents of socialism in questioning the postwar European order is also not a matter of chance. And this order, after all, is the border on Odra and Nysa, it is the Polish Szczecin and Jelenia Gora, Wroclaw and Opole, Gdansk and Olsztyn.

We are trying to maximize keen our officers sensitivity to people's matters. We would like every citizen who needs help to see his natural ally, friend and defender in the officer and the soldier of our ministry. Western radios and sheets and leaflets produced by the opponents of socialism are trying to disturb this process through attacks unrefined in their content and form. The concentration of hostile propaganda on the officers of security, the MO and the Civic Militia Motorized Reserve is thereby an acknowledgment of how necessary our work is and how it prevents the opponent from achieving his ignoble aims. The Polish public ever more appreciates and understands the fact that it is mainly thanks to our toil that the streets of the Polish cities can be calm and ever safer. It is mostly the officers of our ministry that risk their life in pursuit of dangerous criminals. They spare no effort in searching for missing children. For the most part it is they whom the wife maltreated by the alcoholic husband or the parents whose children are being demoralized by their associates ask for intervention.

The elderly in need turn to them for assistance. We value highly the work of the Voluntary Civic Militia Reserve whose members are always well-tested comrades of the professional officials. The lasting ties between the department and the working man are sustained by citizens who do periodical service in the reserve MO units, members of the fire brigades and of workers' anti-speculation brigades.

We sense the support from social, and youth organizations and particularly on the part of the Patriotic National Rebirth Movement. Today I should like to express my cordial gratitude to all those who provide the vast, social hinterland of our work. (applause)

Through joint activeness we intend to bring about a situation whereby every citizen of our country can always feel completely safe. I convey to all those closest to us cordial gratitude for the toil and sacrifices to date which cannot be described or rewarded by any measure. I address words of sincere respect, cordial gratitude for the effort of many years of service to the pensioners and annuitants of our department who invariably give expression to their emotional, ideological and professional ties with us. I assure you dear comrades, that the present officials stand guard over your legacy and enrich it actively. On behalf of all the officials and soldiers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, I should like to assure the party leadership, the government and our entire society, that we will spare no efforts in the discharge of our constitutional duties for the good and glory of the Polish People's Republic.

CSO: 2600/69

PROGRESS, ACTIVITIES OF NEW SUPREME COURT ANALYZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22-23 Sep 84 p 3

[Interview with Adam Zielinski, head of the Supreme Administrative Court, by Izabella Czaplarska]

[Text] Four years ago the Supreme Administrative Court began its activity. It was created to examine grievances against administrative decisions made in the second instance that were objected to as being at variance with the law. One may also direct grievances to the Supreme Administrative Court about an administrative organ's failure to make a decision by a stipulated time.

The basic goal that was the guiding principle for the creation of the Supreme Administrative Court was the securing of legality in administrative work and the reinforcement of the legal protection of citizens by making administrative decisions subject to the supervision of an independent court that is liable only to the law.

Has the existence and activity of the Supreme Administrative Court left its mark on the relationship between government and the citizen? We turn with this question to the head of the Supreme Administrative Court, Adam Zielinski.

[Zielinski] The possibility of appealing to the court against a final administrative decision with the charge of its being at variance with the law undoubtedly strengthened the legal position of the citizen in his relationship to the administration. It also contributed not only to a more correct forming of the relationship but above all to further improvement in how the administration observed and applied the law. And so it is that a decision made in accordance with the law is most often a just decision, not only objectively but also in the subjective perception of both sides. Proper decisions by the authorities mean, then, the strengthening of legality and the feeling of justice among citizens.

[Question] How often do citizens appeal to the Supreme Administrative Court with grievances about their cases?

[Answer] In the course of 4 years, in general about 33,000 grievances have come into the Supreme Administrative Court. Each succeeding year we get more of such grievances, which in my opinion, however, attests only to the spread of knowledge in society about the possibility of turning to the court with a

grievance about one's case, and the expansion of the range of cases in which a grievance is lodged. On the other hand, it does not have to attest to worse work by the authorities. On the contrary, we can speak of an improvement, since for instance in the first year of our work we decided in favor of 41 percent of citizens' grievances, finding the judgment of the administration at fault in terms of its compliance with law; in the following 2 years it was 35 percent of the grievances, and in the first half of this year about 33 percent.

Nonetheless, almost a third of all grievances submitted to and examined by the Supreme Administrative Court were decided in favor of the plaintiff and so the court did find transgressions of the law in passing its judgments.

[Question] What infringements are found most often?

[Answer] The lack of adequate grounds for the decision made in the ruling or indifference to the arguments raised by the citizen. The court attaches great weight to proper grounds for a decision not out of formal considerations but because it is a reflection of the office's work on a comprehensive interpretation of the case.

Behind missing or incomplete grounds often hides a lack of feeling, not taking into account the citizen's arguments, an unwillingness to find the kind of settlement that would reconcile social interest with that of the citizen.

Another often repeated mistake in making a decision is a tendency to differentiate positions depending on the individual whom justice is supposed to serve. In other words: partiality.

Of course, habits from the past have also contributed to the creation in practice and even in law of "protected zones" for various groups of individuals. Meanwhile, the implementation of the principle of equality of all citizens before the law is the primary requirement of legality, and the Supreme Court does not make allowances for any deviations from it. We require that similar decisions be made in similar cases. If, on the other hand, the circumstances of the case are different and they forejudge different decisions, one must explain this to the citizen and show the differences.

[Question] Should one expect that the law on people's councils coming into force will have such a far-reaching influence on the administration's work that the number of grievances coming to the Supreme Administrative Court over the legality of decisions will become fewer?

[Answer] This is hard to foresee at this time and it is not the most important thing. It is also worth remembering that the amount of grievances judged in favor of the plaintiff against administrative decisions by the court is presently a tiny portion of the number of decisions made by administrative organs in the whole country.

The law solves a very important problem: it strengthens the control of society over regional administrative organs and affirms their subordination to the



people's councils. And so the Supreme Administrative Court gained in the people's councils a strong partner to check the infringements of law in regional administrative cells, and to strengthen and deepen the legality of their work.

For some time now the practice of performing evaluations of administrative work, in which the Supreme Administrative Court and its outlying centers also take part, has been spreading. Thus, for instance, at the end of the year we try to work up an evaluation of the effort to abide by the law in individual provinces, and these evaluations are made available to provincial people's councils, among others. The people's council, having such information not only from the court but also, for instance, from the Supreme Chamber of Control, the head regional inspectors and other controlling organs, can conduct a full and proper evaluation of administrative activity.

Various guarantees of the administration's compliance with the law are currently being initiated in the legislative process, in legal acts. It is being more precisely defined when the administrative organ can encroach on the rights of citizens and when it cannot do so. This precise specification of rights in law is clear action in the direction of limiting arbitrariness by the administration and expanding the range of control over it. This direction in the legislative process is also evident in the expansion of the Supreme Administrative Court's scope of activity. Included in 12 laws issued after the creation of the Supreme Administrative Court were regulations about the ability to bring particular administrative decisions to court. Among them are decisions concerning censorship, working conditions in government offices, customs cases and others.

Thus, a clear tendency toward the expansion of court control over administrative decisions is now evident.

Besides this, certain steps are being undertaken to stimulate the legality of administrative workers' activity, to which end the code of obligations of workers in government administration is supposed to serve.

All of these actions can be interpreted without a doubt as the declaration of a government that wants to see an administration that is not only effective but also law-abiding and fair.

[Question] What part is foreseen for the Supreme Administrative Court in the implementation of these actions?

[Answer] I believe that the further improvement of administrative work, which is already noticeable, depends on two factors: help to administrative workers in the proper fulfillment of their duties and exacting responsibility for them.

In view of this, we want to be a court that does not limit itself only to judging but one that also helps, maintains constant contact with both people's councils and the administration. We willingly enter into discussion with the administration. We help it with the practical application of law. This is

being received better and better by the administration. We observe a great need among administrative workers for help in raising their professional qualifications. These are needs made known in the course of work. Out of this comes increasingly greater understanding that court control over administrative decisions is indispensable. It signifies the "straightening of paths" of legality in sporadic instances, but also the affirmation of the court's authority in consonance with the right of the administration's standpoint in properly made decisions.

We conduct many general and preventive activities, including the signaling of observed transgressions. When the need arises we submit proposals for changes in the regulations of administrative law. We conduct various forms of instruction for administrative workers. Just familiarizing them with the decisions of the Supreme Administrative Court, in which the court broadly formulates its views on specific legal problems, can contribute much to raising the qualifications of administrative workers.

The very awareness that it is possible for a citizen to bring to the court a grievance against a decision has tremendous preventive significance in the work of the administration. We try to have an effect not only to the greater depth of qualifications, but also on the formation of civic attitudes, detecting general cases, social but also individual, human.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/19

## MEDICAL CARE DURING MILITARY OFFENSIVES IN FREE ZONES

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 2, Apr-Jun 84 pp 99-108

[Article by Colonel Dr. Mircea Diaconescu and Colonel Dr. Constantin Stanculescu]

[Text] The question of medical care during combat in free zones in general and during offensives in particular has a set of distinct aspects. Some can be foreseen on the basis of the experience of last wars, others require a detailed study of field conditions and possibilities of organizing already during peacetime free zones capable of forming nuclei of resistance in the context of the defensive war against an enemy that is superior in terms of number and combat technique.

An analysis is made of the mode and purpose that underlie the establishment of these free zones and their political and military significance.

Medical care in free zones is organized in light of the concept and scale of the offensives, the value of the participating forces, the level of formations and medical means.

Under the unified leadership of the chief physician of the echelon that leads the offensive, medical care will use all human and material resources in the zone, at the same time achieving the tailoring of the medical care system to existing conditions, a fact that often involves reducing the volume of medical aid to a minimum, with strict rationalization of all sanitary means, and also the effort to assure by air the support of medical formations outside the zones involved.

Under the very difficult conditions when national forces conduct offensives in the country's defensive war by all the people, when there is the need for the mobilization of all human and material resources of the nation to repel the aggression, the role and importance of cooperation among all the forces of the national defense system increase considerably.

A characteristic trait that emerges from the practice of people's defensive wars involves the concern for potentiating the factors on which the country's increased defensive capacity depend and, in this context, of preparing the population for both combat and for estimation and capability of preserving their health and capacity of providing, when needed, first aid to the wounded and sick.

Multilateral and thorough training of the army and population to protect and save life today is a requirement that does no longer need argumentation.

Involvement of the masses, in the most varied forms, in offensives to annihilate the aggressor, as it emerged during World War II (Yugoslavia, USSR, and other countries), and from conflagrations during the last two decades, resulted in very great sanitary losses, and the exceedingly hard living and sanitation conditions, inherent in wars, created premises for the generation of some epidemic sites.

The maintenance of the health of the troops and of the population engaged in the fight and in production activity, recovery of the greatest possible number of the wounded and prevention of diseases, specifically of transmissible ones, are major issues that are of outstanding importance for the maintenance of the country's defensive capacity.

It can be concluded that in the war of all the people medical care has a more complex nature than the one in the case of activities to ensure medical care in conventional war and involves the participation, on a unified basis, of all the country's health network in establishment of antiepidemic measures and measures for treatment and hospitalization of the wounded.

For the purpose of outlining the appropriate forms and methods of rational organization and control of medical care during combat in free zones, specifically during offensive, we believe that it is relevant to try to define, to elucidate the mode of achieving these and become aware of the aims of the offensives conducted by the troops jointly with the local defense formations.

In terms of space, the free zones are situated in the depth of the enemy's disposition and may come into being in several situations. For instance, in the case of achieving surprise in unleashing the aggression, the enemy develops the offensive rapidly, because of the superiority in armed forces and military technique, along the main directions and, as a result, some large tactical units together with the subordinate defense formations located in the

areas between the main directions of offensive are compelled to fight in encirclement in districts -- free zones -- where assignments continue to be implemented by party and state bodies. Free zones may be set up deliberately, when a part of the armed troops, together with defense formations, can be left to fight in encirclement, in certain zones that are favorable in terms of relief and which contain important political, economic and military facilities, for their maintenance over a long period. This involves establishing such zones already in peacetime, with adequate measures taken to ensure technicomaterial and medical means for the forces that will fight in these zones, and also measures on the line of preparing the territory for defense. The measures taken by the Romanian Communist Party and our state for the maintenance of the people's health materialized at the level of each county by the construction and wisest possible territorial distribution of hospitals, polyclinics, sanatoria, rest homes and the like especially in the zones where the sanitary network is smaller, by construction of roads and other facilities which, if need be, can be used for medical purposes, and also the sanitary training of the population and of those included in the Red Cross formations, create conditions for the favorable resolution of problems of treatment and hospitalization of the wounded and sick and also of supply of sanitary and pharmaceutical materials to the forces that fight in the free zones.

The free zones can also come into being as a result of large-scale offensives waged by resistance formations on the territory that is temporarily occupied by the enemy, when these formations have reached a level of organization, of combat experience and equipment that ensures their capacity of waging fight for liberation of some zones and maintenance of these zones until achievement of junction with the troops that operate on the free territory. Furthermore, there may be situations when on the national territory that is temporarily occupied by the enemy, districts are left which are not controlled by the enemy either because of the dispersion of its forces or because of the intentions to first seize political, economic and military targets, avoiding the areas that do not present importance in its aggressive plans.

The purposes of offensives conducted in free zones may be maintenance of a major facility or group of facilities, polarization of some important forces and wearing out of the enemy forces for subsequent execution of large-scale offensives jointly with the forces on the country's free territory.

The free zones have a broad political and military significance on an internal and external scale. By their maintenance the continuity of the political and administrative leadership of existing legal organs is ensured, world public opinion and even opinion in the aggressor's country are provided with sure proofs of our people's determination and will not to yield to the aggressor, to fight firmly and fiercely to defeat the aggressor.

For the free zones to provide the possibility of their being maintained over a long time with concomitant measures of medical care ensured it is necessary

to meet certain field requirements that would favor the defender -- hilly and forested, broken ground, localities, districts with developed hydromelioration systems, roads for executing the forces and hardware exercise and supplies -- and a surface that would exclude the possibility for the enemy to hit by artillery, from the same firing positions, any point from their area.

Just as the free zones, to fulfill their established role, must meet some dimensional, natural, economic and social requirements, they also must meet some requirements for attainment, at limit parameters, of medical care activities. It is desirable that the free zones should contain territorial medical formations for treatment, blood collection and storage and reserves (supplies) of sanitary and pharmaceutical materials.

The structure of such ground and the existing coverings create favorable conditions for the disposition of medical formations, sheltering and concealed evacuation of the wounded and sick and for provision with sanitary and pharmaceutical materials by parachuting or with carriers.

Of great importance for the maintenance of free zones are the number and profile of patriotic guards and the other elements of the national defense system and the density of the population whose ranks can help to complete the strength of the fighting forces and that will directly participate in the material, technical and medical supply of offensives.

The conditions mentioned above require the formulation and implementation of many differential approaches, that correspond to the concept and long-range development of the offensives and to the possibilities for the organization and completion of the medical care activities, in a unified vision, outlined in conjunction with the proper organs of local power and the elements of the national defense system existing in the free zones.

As was shown, the creation and maintenance of the free zones which can originate the offensive for the country's liberation are essential prerequisites for the survival of the nation and entail a special importance and constant concern of executive medical bodies for the organization and development of medical care for the forces that carry out offensives in these zones.

In light of the destructive power of modern armament and combat technique over the live force, and also the stringent need to have available the largest manpower, fit for combat, with adequate physical and health condition, medical care in the free zones and especially recovery of the wounded in these zones directly contribute to keeping the morale of fighters, supplementing the units, ensuring production, briefly, achieving successful offensives.

It is known that medical care is organized in light of the concept and scale of offensives, of the value of the participating forces, and in light of the quantity of medical forces and means that are available. As a particular aspect,

medical care in free zones, in general, and medical care to ensure offensives in these zones, in particular, is organized and unfolds in extremely difficult conditions, caused by the reduced level of medical staff and facilities. Hence, there is the need for close concern with using these elements most wisely, initiative, inventiveness and promptness on part of medical organs in implementing all the measures for dispensing medical care to the wounded and sick, making use, for this purpose, as much as possible of the existing resources in the zone.

We should emphasize, as a basic condition, for the dispensation of medical care during offensives in free zones, that in the period when these zones are formed the medical formations should also be installed, and in light of the duration of the offensives planned and the level of participating forces, there should be assigned, on a supplemental basis, medical staff and sanitary-pharmaceutical materials, if needed, even first-line medical points or hospitals. This measure is all the more necessary if we have in mind the fact that on our country's territory the ground that is fit for the formation and maintenance of free zones from which offensive should be unleashed is fairly broken and has a small number of territorial medical formations.

As a result of the different way of formation of free zones, of combat participation of all the people, of all the elements of the national health protection system, inside these zones there are heterogenous medical forces. For instance, the army troops have medical forces and means, whereas the frontier guard and security units have medical points with reduced possibilities for dispensing medical aid and evacuating the wounded, and the people's combat and resistance formations, largely created ad hoc, can provide medical care only on the basis of self-aid or mutual aid. Moreover, the territorial medical formations (hospitals, blood collection and storage centers, storage units for medical materials) do not have sufficient resources, because the staff and sanitary and pharmaceutical materials of these units were evacuated and the buildings might be deteriorated.

Consequently, for medical care during combats that precede the unleashing of the offensive, and also during the offensive, it is absolutely imperative to reorganize the medical care system, redistribute the medical staff and means, in light of the combat concept, that should permit the dispensation of medical care, with existing possibilities, under most advantageous conditions.

Regardless of the type and number of medical formations existing in the free zone, they must form a grouping of medical forces and facilities that operate under a unified direction, as a rule, of the chief physician at the echelon that organizes and leads the offensive. Only in this way one can ensure the timely treatment and evacuation of the wounded under such difficult conditions and in the context of diversification of forms and methods of combat, to which medical care must also be adapted.

In terms of organization, medical care during offensives in free zones involves a set of measures and activities related to the combat actions that precede the offensive.

For instance, for the wisest possible utilization of medical forces and facilities available it is necessary to redistribute them, with the focus on assigning medical formations and sanitary facilities for evacuation of the wounded mainly to the units (subunits) that make up the group of offensive, and provision for these, up to the level of groups, of sanitary materials that are strictly necessary for first aid (self-aid).

Attention will also be paid to the place and role of units (subunits) in the combat disposition, so that, in light of estimation of sanitary losses, one could also direct the medical care effort.

During this period the evacuation will be intensified for the wounded and sick at units (subunits), patriotic guards and resistance formations, by using specialized transportation facilities but especially nonspecialized and even makeshift facilities. Of great importance are sheltering in hidden places and ensuring of continuity of treatment of the wounded who cannot be evacuated by air or who, because of the seriousness of the injury, cannot survive transportation.

By and large, the grouping of forces for medical care during offensives use territorial sources of supply (military sources and sources of the national economy), and also resources for treatment, hospitalization and evacuation of the higher echelon in free zones.

However, after estimating the number of wounded in relation to the usually insufficient possibilities of dispensing medical care, as a result of isolation of the free zones by the aggressor, it is necessary for the higher echelon to request and ensure reinforcements in the medical staff specifically surgical personnel, from the hospital bases of the Defense Council and stocks of sanitary and pharmaceutical materials, to this end using air transport (airborne operations, parachuting) or water transport, and, if needed, even carrier infiltration.

We point out that this possibility, which often is little feasible, does not rule out maximum use of all medicosanitary resources on the territory of free zones or the activity for substitution of some materials utilized for medical purposes.

For instance, part of the necessary amount of dressing materials (bandages, compresses and the like) may be provided by underwear, compressors for temporary hemostasis out of motor vehicle tires, splints to control fractures out of various shapable materials, and some disinfectants or disinsectizants may be replaced by liquid lime, lye, kerosine, and so forth.



For sterilization by boiling of instruments, dressings and other materials needed to treat the wounded, various metal containers (packaging) may be used.

Ensuring the evacuation of the wounded must be a primary concern of commandants and of the medical-sanitary staff at all echelons (formations), so that they may receive medical care promptly for the purpose of best recoverableness possible. These considerations underlie unrestricted use of all types of motor vehicles and of animal-drawn facilities.

Also, a source of sanitary materials must involve captures from the enemy which, upon the preliminary assessment and instructions of the medical staff, may be used in the treatment of the wounded and sick.

Of great importance are the measures in medical care that involve prevention and control of diseases and specifically of transmissible diseases which, by generating sites of epidemics, may harm the combat ability of the forces participating in the offensive. Consequently, also in light of the possibility of the aggressor's using search-and-diversion troops with the mission of infecting water sources and food stocks, it is imperative to ensure watch over these, and in case of signs of infection, to institute the most stringent anti-epidemic measures. Consumption of water and foods should proceed only after boiling, there should be preventive disinfection of the water sources and earliest isolation and treatment of those who display premonitory symptoms of a transmissible disease.

In case of the existence in free zones of military antiepidemic formations or a territorial health network, these, in accordance with the principle of subordination and unified leadership, will be responsible for the organization and application of all the sanitary-hygienic and anti-epidemic measures outlined by the chief physician of the grouping of forces in the zone involved, in the strip assigned for epidemiologic supervision.

The antiepidemic activity in the free zones will not be limited only to protect the troops and the other people's combat and resistance formations, but will also cover the entire population in the zone involved in order to thus ensure the effectiveness of the disease prevention measures.

At the unleashing of the offensive, the medical forces and facilities must be located at a distance that is convenient for stepping in timely along the main line of action.

If the groupings of the offensive operate on concentric, radial, parallel or combined directions, the medical formations will be disposed and will operate in light of the unfolding of the combats, giving priority to the evacuation of wounded at the subunits where their number is high, and the situation requires their shortest possible withdrawal from the combat disposition. It is difficult to establish special norms on the disposition and operation of the

medical formations, because the diversity of combat and dynamics of reconstitution of troop disposition mandate flexibility, expeditiousness and initiative, according to the demands of the situations created.

However, we point out that the general principles on the assignment of medical formations in light of the importance of the mission, the level of the participating forces, and the ensuring of all the directions of offensive remain valid also in the context of the organization and unfolding of offensives in free zones.

We also emphasize that under these conditions when the possibilities for medical care generally are smaller, for known reasons, it is advisable to form a reserve of medical forces and facilities, especially to assure the introduction of the second (reserve) echelon in the combat, and also for dispensation of medical care in case of extension of the duration of the offensive or occurrence of a number of wounded that is greater than the one estimated.

A problem which must receive much attention in the activity of the medical staff to ensure the functionality of medical formations is their disguising (camouflage) by construction of buried shelters and utilization of all the advantages offered by the ground, and concealed organization of the evacuation of the wounded. To this end, for the evacuation of the wounded in daytime, there will be no columns, as the transfer will be effected on isolated motor vehicles and the stretches of open ground will be covered at high speed. Furthermore, avoided will be the crowding of the wounded at medical points and their location near major facilities, depots of materials, mandatory passage points or artillery or rocket groupings.

As for the volume of medical care, it is possible to reduce it in case the number of the wounded is great and the possibility of stepping in with medical formations is nevertheless limited. In this case, there will be rigid sorting supplemented with measures of treatment for vital indications and achievement of highest level possible of recovery of the wounded. For completion of the units (subunits), of people's combat and resistance formations, the wounded that maintained their combat ability, after receiving medical aid, will be immediately returned to them, and, if need be, for the execution of guard and defense missions, convalescing wounded will also be utilized.

We dwell on the volume of medical care, opining that during offensives in the free zones the level of medical care activity must be assessed and established with the focus on the medically ethic and patriotic responsibility, which must dovetail with the firmness of professional probity, with the major option for saving life and achieve the recoverableness of the wounded. Of course, the measure to reduce the volume of medical care has a temporary character and is cancelled as soon as the units (subunits) and the people's combat and resistance formations have established junction with their own troops.

In implementation of medical care measures, specifically of those that involve the evacuation of the wounded and treatment during hospitalization and also the measures of sanitary-hygienic care and prevention of diseases (disinfection and disinsectization) much can be done by the medical formations of civil defense, the Red Cross groups, women's organizations, the sanitary personnel of patriotic guards and the population that, due to age or medical unfitness do not participate in combat.

As for provision with sanitary and pharmaceutical materials, aside from the matters listed above, it must be pointed out that, because of the specific of combats, it is advisable for the units and the other people's combat formations to be provided with sanitary and pharmaceutical materials needed for dispensing medical aid over a longer time, thus creating independence in the treatment of the wounded and limitation of supply transports during combat.

Further, it is advisable that the reserves of sanitary and pharmaceutical materials, kept at the disposal of the echelon which leads the offensive, be dispersed along the directions along which combat is planned to unfold, together with the medical forces and facilities that are supposed to be given as reinforcement to the units and people's combat formations, in light of the situation created.

It is hard to assume that stored blood, blood substitutes, perfusable crystalline solutions and some drugs, especially antibiotics, analgesics and anesthetics, could be provided, even in the limit amount, from the territory of the free zone and, consequently, it is necessary that these be provided, as much as possible, by air, by parachuting or by helicoptering, together with the other materials needed by the forces in free zones.

Direction of medical care for the forces that move to offensive in free zones is very difficult to achieve, a fact that mandates thorough organization, specifically in terms of assignment of medical forces and supplies during the period that preceded offensives, precisely for the purpose of minimizing restructuring during combat.

However, the complex and multilateral nature of offensive in free zones and the medical ramifications resulting from its development require ensured continuity of direction of medical forces and supplies.

Even though the offensive unfolds from the free, isolated zones, the leadership of medical care must be unified and tailored to the concept of development of the combat, a fact that assures the utilization of all the existing medical forces and resources.

A very important issue involves the organization of cooperation with all the medicosanitary organs of the local civil medical network, with assignment of leadership and responsibility for medical care during offensives, in the case

analyzed, to the proper organ of the political-military leadership of the war, located in a free province or, perhaps, even in a free zone. For the purpose of achievement of most efficient leadership possible and institution of prompt measures for full use of existing medical resources, and also for the obtaining, if need be, of reinforcements in terms of medical personnel and sanitary and pharmaceutical materials, it is possible for the organ of political-military leadership to send to the leadership of each grouping representatives and small work teams that also include leading medical personnel.

In light of the specific local situation, direct leadership of medical care of each grouping of forces in free zones is exercised by the chief physician of the major tactical unit or by a physician (group of physicians) of an operative command, whose mission of leading the medical forces and resources located in zones with a special degree of independence was established during the unfolding of the aggression.

Important factors in ensuring leadership of medical activity and successive disposition of medical formations involve thorough and timely study of medical and sanitary conditions existing in the free zones and formulation of a large number of variants, based on the concept of the offensive, so that the leading medical organs in each zone may be able to conduct its activity in the context of marked independence.

The documents of medical care leadership must be succinct and clear and must contain only strictly necessary matters related to the situation created, while minimizing the number of provisions that overload the transmission network and require a great amount of time for coding and decoding. Wider use will be made of the system of transmitting orders and receiving reports through the flow of resources that participate in the evacuation of the wounded or of the messengers who ensure the liaison along the command line.

In conclusion, we estimate that the matter of medical care during combat in free zones, in general, and during offensives, in particular, involves a multitude of specific facets which, partly, can be foreseen, based on the study of situations created in World War II and the wars in the last decades, but this study cannot totally spotlight the particular aspects of carrying out possible combats on the territory of our country.

This actually requires detailed and persevering study by medical organs at all levels of the specific and possibilities of medical care existing on the territory on which operations are planned, at least at the outbreak of the aggression, and also an intensive exchange of surveys and assessments among chief physicians of major tactical and operative units, dislocated in peacetime in various regions of this country.

11710

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## ROMANIA

### DUTY OF MILITARY PHYSICIANS TO IMPLEMENT DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 2, Apr-Jun 84 pp 95-98

[Text] The building of the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania is a complex undertaking that unfolds on the basis of the political, social and economic options outlined in the Romanian Communist Party program of work and fight. In this set of concerns demographic issues play a very important role. In the concept of the party, of its secretary general, the individual is the determining factor of socioeconomic progress -- the supreme value of our socialist society.

During the period marked by the beginning of the August 1944 antifascist and antiimperialist revolution of social and national liberation -- the 40th anniversary of its outbreak falls this year -- in the context of the multilateral socioeconomic development of this country, of the constant improvement in the material and spiritual well-being of all the people, our socialist society has ensured and continues to ensure optimal conditions for the improvement of the condition of health of the population, of health care as a whole, the continuous rise in the quality of life and, on this basis, for the rise in the birth rate and in the natural increase in the population. Graphic in this connection are the changes that have taken place in the area of growth of the health network. The past 15 years have seen the construction of hospitals, polyclinics, dispensaries, emergency centers, blood collection and storage centers, pharmacies and other kinds of health units. In this context special care has been given to ensuring conditions for mother and child welfare.

Currently in operation on the country's territory are 905 day nurseries with more than 90,000 places, 12,500 beds in creches, 190 maternity hospitals and obstetrics and gynecology centers, more than 220 pediatrics centers, with about 6,000 pediatricians, 1,500 obstetricians and a large number of medium-grade health personnel. All this provides an adequate mother and child welfare system which ensures optimal conditions for the harmonious development of the young generation -- the future of this country.

Broadly scrutinizing the country's demographic status at this stage, the enlarged plenary session of the Higher Health Council, held on 7 March 1984, outlined a comprehensive program for assuring the best possible health conditions for the population, the increase in the birth rate, the achievement of the most harmonious structure of the population. Pointing out the importance of these goals, Nicolae Ceausescu indicates that on their implementation hinges "the future of the people, the successful construction of socialism and communism in our homeland, itself."

The demographic policy pursued by our party meets vital needs of the Romanian people, of our homeland's advance along the road of progress and socialist civilization. It is well known that people are the chief factors of socioeconomic development, of growth of material and spiritual assets. The great goals set in the party Program can be achieved to the degree that the people will be more vigorous, more young. By the same token, the very defense capacity of this country, as the undertaking of all the people, relies on the value of the demographic factor, as a primary factor of strength.

Flesh of the people's flesh, the country's soldiers are in duty bound to comprehend and assure the implementation of our party's demographic policy. Together with all the educational elements in units and commandments, military physicians must help in explaining the significance of the measures taken by the party for the maintenance of the vigor of the people's youth by a normal rate of growth of young offsprings of socialist Romania.

In the profoundly patriotic program for improving health care conditions and implementing the current demographic policy, the military medical network, which has a modern material base, staffed by personnel with thorough specialized training, combines its efforts with those of the national medical system. In this area, special tasks are allotted all the medical staff. However, the physicians and the other specialized workers in obstetrics and gynecology centers have outstanding responsibilities in terms of quality of consultation and preparation of medical documents for marriage, complete clinical examination of the two genitors, provision of hygiene advice, prevention of situations that lead to sterility or miscarriage.

Not for a moment must it be forgotten that miscarriage is sometimes due to administration of medication with toxic effect on the fetus or to X-raying. Contraindicated drugs during pregnancy (antibiotics, chemotherapeutics, immunosuppressants, and the like) are administered to this category of women only in the 10-12 days of the menstrual cycle. Moreover, medical practice, including the experience gained in military hospitals corroborates the fact that in the case of a sterile couple there must be a concomitant examination of both genitors: the husband, by andrologic and spermatic examination, and the wife, by various clinical and paraclinical tests, with concomitant antiinflammatory and hormonal treatment and, if needed, a hysterosalpingography, which will locate and assess the degree of uterotubal lesions and, implicitly, the treatment

required. In women that are in the period of fertility (between 16-40 years of age), radiologic examinations at the abdomen level are done only in the first 10-12 days of the menstrual cycle, after the gynecological examination and biological tests have confirmed the absence of pregnancy.

Physicians at obstetrics and gynecology centers are concerned with early detection of pregnancy by the most thorough clinical examination and by use of major paraclinical methods (immunologic, biologic, ecographic and other tests). Diagnosis is followed by clinical and biological tests, designed to specify the general condition of the expectant mother, one that is or is not compatible with maternity (RBW, Rh antigen), bacterial infections or fungus or parasitic infestations or possible neoplastic lesions.

During the 9 months of pregnancy, the expectant mothers will be examined periodically at least ten times. The reasons for these examinations are dispensary aid for those with increased risk (abortive disease), detection of any incompatibility (diabetes, obesity, cardiopathy), factors that require extra investigations, involvement of other specialists for complex treatment.

The gynecologist is required to be aware of the working conditions of expectant mothers, if needed, to take measures for a job change, in conjunction with the physician of the unit, and to those with pregnancy complications he will grant a working schedule reduced by two hours, starting the fifth month, monitoring the beginning of prenatal leave in the eighth month and hospitalization as soon as the first uterine contractions appear.

The efforts of specialists in the offices of polyclinics and physicians of units blend with those of specialists in obstetrics and gynecology centers. These are required to most correctly treat any spontaneous or induced interruption of pregnancy and prevent or cure the many complications, from the simplest to the most severe ones.

The obstetrics and gynecology specialists in polyclinics and hospitals cooperate for achievement of the following objectives: drop in the number of terminations of pregnancy by detection and treatment of all cases threatened with abortion and record-keeping of these cases; use of adequate treatment in cases of female sterility and gynecological troubles that cause and maintain sterility; sanitary education of young spouses in the spirit of having and raising large and healthy families, genuine patriotic and civic duty for every family.

In addition to the tasks that are allotted these specialists for the purpose of ensuring the viability of the fetus, other tasks are allotted the pediatricians and the general practitioners.

They can help to strengthen the family by monitoring the evolution of the child, both as physical and mental development, providing aid in case of illness, requesting assistance of the specialist, when needed.

Moreover, they are required to conduct sanitary education work within the family pointing out the advantages of large families and molding of positive traits of character and behavior, such as the spirit of mutual aid, order and discipline, lack of selfishness, and so on.

The pediatrician in the polyclinic is allotted the task of conducting a high-standard curative-prophylactic activity. He must supervise the preschoolers' collectivities and take all the measures that are needed to reduce infant morbidity and mortality.

All physicians, regardless of their specialities, must help to maintain and protect women's and children's health, contribute to the triumph of life and not to its termination, fight against practices of violating professional and social ethics.

The great responsibilities of military medical personnel also stem from the fact that in our army a great proportion are young and do not yet have the experience of marriage. In participating, together with commandants and the party and Union of Communist Youth organs and organizations in explaining the importance of the health and demographic policy, the military physicians actually fulfill a duty of great honor, with most profound effects on the progress of our socialist homeland and the strengthening of its defensive power by the development of a vigorous and healthy people with an advanced socialist awareness.

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## NEGLIGENCE IN FIRE PREVENTION ACTIVITY DEPLORED

Bucharest PAZA CONTRA INCENDILOR in Romanian Aug 84 p 20

/Article by Marvey Voinea/

/Text/ The laws of the socialist state, by their content and finality, are the fundamental tools for implementing party policies, promoting the general interests of the entire people and combining the individual interests of citizens with the general interests of society. Through the law, the party and state contribute to strengthening social discipline in all sectors of activity. It establishes limits and order in the development of specific activities in every domain that are appropriate to the interests of the entire society. At the same time our laws express society's fundamental demands on its citizens, comprising basic principles for their behavior in society and contributing to their education as well as influencing them in a positive direction.

According to our party's concept, the worker's social democracy constitutes a superior form of social organization, of order and discipline in society. It is incompatible with any kind of anarchic demonstration, irresponsibility or the infraction of rules which assure the proper functioning of social-economic relations. Only under the conditions of high social discipline can we assure full application of society's human and material resources, the normal functioning of all sectors of society. In our country laws are applied consistently and deliberately and respect for them constitutes a high patriotic and even moral duty for all citizens, a legal obligation which finds succinct expression in the fundamental law--the country's constitution.

The development of social relations in conformity with the rules of law can only be assured by an awareness of their content, an understanding by all citizens of the need to obey them precisely. An awareness of the country's laws becomes even more necessary once it is realized that no one can be absolved of responsibility for the infraction of a legal provision on the grounds that he did not know the requirement or prohibition established by law. No one can avail himself of the excuse of ignorance of the law, the presumption of knowledge in that regard being a basic element of responsibility in the breaking of legal provisions. Mastering the content of the laws does not have to be restricted to an awareness of the sanctions for breaking a given legal provision with the aim of instilling fear of the consequences of the deed and inhibition against the tendency to carry out such deeds. Our laws also include principles of

behavior for citizens in society as well as society's requirements of them, constituting a tool for influencing civic behavior. If fear of punishment produces a temporary effect--abstaining for the moment from breaking the law--understanding of the educational content of the laws can influence the individual conscience much more deeply, resulting in correct and stable behavior in society.

With regard to legal rules having to do with the prevention and extinguishing of fires, an activity that, as we well know, has the unique and noble aim of saving human lives and public property, we must particularly stress the requirement for all leaders of socialist organizations to develop a strong campaign of popularization to explain the content of laws having to do with preventing and extinguishing fires, both in terms of the sanctions provided for their disrespect as well as in terms of their preventive and educational content.

The concept promoted by our party in the domain of law stresses full belief in the educational force of socialist public opinion, of workers' collectives over those who break the laws, of the capacity of the masses to prevent, combat and avoid phenomena contrary to the rules of law.

Unfortunately there are still some workers' collectives where there is not always sufficient concern for preventing certain illicit acts on the part of their members during activities carried on in the halls of socialist organizations. Thus, at a series of economic organizations such as: the petrochemical combines of Brazi and Teleajen, Schela Boldesti, the "Dero-Ploieste enterprise, the "Electrometal" enterprise of Cluj-Napoca, etc. some workers in the workplaces covered by Decree No 400/1981 committed infractions provided for by Art 18, par 2 of that law, smoking or consuming alcoholic beverages, even though that was prohibited. By the infractions committed in these economic organizations, dangerous situations were created for human life and the assurance of the proper functioning of installations, machinery and equipment. These persons have been indicted and the resulting judicial proceedings will decide the punishment that applies to them on the basis of the penal code.

The question arises as to what opinions have been expressed from the respective groups of the workers' collectives for preventing and avoiding the occurrence of such serious acts? It is a natural question, considering the new, profoundly human content of the new production relationships that are characteristic of our socialist order. In that sense we must emphasize that workers are responsible not only for the strict respect of fabrication technology but also for maintaining order and discipline in work, for the rules of socialist ethics and equity, for the development of relations of comradely collaboration and mutual assistance, for the assurance of a climate of worker discipline in fulfilling assigned tasks. In all of their activities, workers must demonstrate combativeness and intransigence against all those who violate laws, order and discipline, who have a superficial attitude and display a lack of responsibility for the lives of the members of the collective and public property and must mold mass opinion that will assure their education or, as the case may be, call them to account.

Chiefs of sections, workshops, installations or other production departments must, besides instructing their subordinates as to the legal requirements and responsibilities that apply to them during the production process, assure and

push for, with increased responsibility, precise respect for the rules for extinguishing and preventing by all of the workers, taking measures to prevent any illicit acts. On their level, the members of the collective must be conscious of the fact that they are directly responsible for protecting human life and public property against fire, being obligated to take a decisive attitude against any action or manifestation of nature that would place them in danger.

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## WEEKLY DISPUTES VIEW THAT ADVOCATES OF CHANGE ARE OPPONENTS

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Sep 84 p 6

[Excerpt] Miha Ravnik, secretary of the Slovenian LC CC Presidium, said in response to the question about Slovenia's relations toward demands for a change of the political system: "I am often asked what these critics (in fact they are advocates of de-Titoization and de-Kardeljization) are offering--Western or Eastern theory--because they can only offer us that."

It is not the most worthwhile thing to argue with passages [the statement appeared in the 11 September 1984 DANAS (Zagreb, page 9)] in which not even one critic or any critics' views are cited even for the purpose of illustration. But it seems, just because of this, that such passages deserve attention; because in the long, sometimes harsh but always serious, discussion about this problem many thoughts and assessments are expressed on various levels and under various circumstances, but one can say that only a very small number of them have been directed against the basis of our system.

Furthermore, these ideas and their advocates have remained of very marginal significance. Hence, the drawing of such tendencies into first place and attributing to them a very unprecedented importance imposes multiple damage. On the one hand, it seems that these "forces" are felt to be stronger than they actually are and perhaps also more aggressive, while on the other hand, implicitly a large number (if not all) advocates of change are put in the category of opponents of the system, while the opponents of change whose numbers are not small, as seen from the fate of the stabilization program, remain untouched. Finally, if we leave to one side the fact that neither East nor West is so uniform and clear, we must not forget that a rather large space exists between them and that also the system of self-management socialism which partly occupies this space offers a place for very different concrete-historical solutions.

CSO: 2800/47

## EXCERPTS FROM MATVEJEVIC BOOK ON 'YUGOSLAVISM'

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 84 pp 46-50

[First part of chapter entitled "The Dialogue Between Marxists and Believers" reprinted from the book by Predrag Matvejevic "Jugoslavenstvo danas" [Yugoslavism Today]: "The Dialogue Between Marxists and Believers"]

[Text] Predrag Matvejevic's book "Jugoslavenstvo danas" [Yugoslavism Today], which "Globus" of Zagreb published last year, has aroused passionate discussions from various public platforms in Belgrade and Zagreb. The BIGZ [Belgrade Publishing and Printing Institution] will soon publish a new edition in its pocketbook series, this one considerably expanded and supplemented with new sections and chapters of this book, which has been represented in certain newspapers as a book "against the logic of the ostrich." In several installments INTERVJU will be reprinting certain topical sections from that version. At a moment when numerous religious events are taking place in our country, we are reprinting from the new edition of Matvejevic's book a chapter which did not figure in the first edition at all: "The Dialogue Between Marxists and Believers," which is imposing itself at this point as a rather important topic.

The discussions concerning dialogue between Marxists and Christians have been very lively, especially in the sixties, in certain countries of Europe and Latin America. They soon met resistance of various kinds on both the Christian and the Marxist side. Many people noted with acerbity that the "dialogue was dead," that it had never begun, that it was altogether impossible: the ironic phrase "dialogue with Popocatepetl" had prefigured that impossibility.

When we discuss a dialogue between Marxists and Christians or indeed in the broader sense between believers and those who do not believe, especially in a country where there are several religions and nationalities, we confront differing experiences of the past and the actual differences which follow from them. We cannot clearly state the preconditions of the dialogue, then, unless we determine more closely what those experiences have been and establish a

real relationship between them. A great many religious, ethnic and cultural facts take on importance and confront one another in our own context.

In the course of their development three of the South Slav nationalities have been Orthodox, two Catholic and one Muslim. Branches of several neighboring peoples living in Yugoslavia are also divided among those same three faiths. Nowhere in Europe and perhaps nowhere in the world have so many nationalities and religions existed and confronted one another in such a limited space.

#### The Iranian Origin of the Croats

In the sum total of factors which determine nationality religion has been one of the most decisive here. One of the things it included was membership in the corresponding cultural area: western (Central European or Mediterranean-Latin), eastern (Byzantine and Slavic-Orthodox) and Islamic. For centuries religious culture was the basic culture for most of the people, if not their only connection with culture. Its importance or influence are not the same in all nationalities. They have also varied from period to period within each of them separately.

These well-known facts cannot be denied and there is no need to ignore them.

In most mononational countries, especially in Europe, the relationship between nationality and religion is today becoming less and less a problem. In states with more highly developed lay traditions the question of religious choice is ceasing to be ethnic in character in the strict sense of the word and is passing over into the area of civil liberties or human rights. The connections between nationality and religion differ more or less from those between religion and the state or indeed between the state and the nationality. The complexities of Yugoslav ethnic and religious affairs do not yield to easy generalization, nor can they be reduced to models such as are established or applied elsewhere.

I do not intend to repeat how much the churches have served the people on this soil or indeed how segments of the clergy have been at the service of foreign governors: Austrian, Italian, Turkish, etc. Every religion has had its past which influences in various ways the views of its authorities or of the believers themselves and ethnic relations in the country. Following the unification the Serbian Orthodox Church, which had traditional ties with the nationality and with nationalism and was the representative of the state religion in the former principality and Kingdom of Serbia, enjoyed the greater confidence of the monarchy than the other faiths. (The almost scandalous way in which the patriarchy headed by Varnava prevented the concordat of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia with the Vatican, which would also have given Catholicism some kind of government status, revealed the intolerance and desire for superiority.) In the old Yugoslavia Catholicism did not have the opportunity to become a state religion and the religion of the nationality to the extent that would have suited it: for that reason in Croatia it rejected or repudiated Yugoslavism in its own tradition and indeed Slavism in general, relying more and more on nationalism (the well-known clerical journalist and pater Kerub Segvic was even to support the "theory" of the Iranian origin of the Croats).

On the other hand the Slovene "pope Korosec (Anton)," when he moved from the opposition over to a minister's portfolio, was to serve the interests of the monarchy, sometimes with the zeal of a denouncer. The differences and antagonisms among the Christians were not, as can be discerned, negligible. (Church policy was opposed by individual priests who were close to the common people, by the heirs of the ethnic and religious traditions from past centuries, and especially by the Christian Socialists in Slovenia.) The Islamic ulema, who were not accustomed to forget losses in previous decades, especially in the state of the South Slavs, felt themselves to be more Muslim-Turkish than South Slav.

The ideas and undertakings which were related to this kind of backward religiosity could hardly have reached a higher level of culture: those who pursued them were usually characterized by intellectual mediocrity, traditionalism and provincialism.

### The Clerical Right

That kind of situation separated the believers, deepened the schism, and encouraged mutual intolerance. Relations in the people, which had been established at great pains by the most enlightened religious people, were weakened, were spoiled, and were severed. Reasons based on nationality were becoming more important than those based on Christianity or on religion in general.

That is not a new phenomenon, but in our century it took on a more definite importance in Europe and the world. "In our century religious life has been subordinated to the life of the nationality more than ever before," Simone Weil said in 1943 on behalf of a new vision of Christianity: "It is an intolerable scandal that priests and believers pray to God at the same time, with the same rites, the same words, and, we must assume, with equal faith and purity of heart, for a military victory of one or the other enemy camp." Denis de Rougemont joined in this kind of appeal to the Christian and religious consciousness: "The pseudoreligious frenzy of nationalism may be fatal," antagonism between "what is sacred to the nationality and the Christian faith" is fateful. Essential differences were once again manifested within Christianity itself: Is the principal bearer of religion man as an individual or is it the body of believers and the tribe, the person (as conceived by personalists) or indeed the nationality and the nation? Official traditionalism has long endeavored to suppress such questions and those who would pose them.

The attitude toward fascism on the eve of World War II and during it was a historical test and at the same time an inner temptation for all Christianity. Pope Pius XII saw Franco as "the best son of the Church" and saw fascist power as a guarantee against "godless communism." Christ's regent did not raise his voice to "clearly condemn the crucifixion of numerous victims" (those are the words of the Catholic writer F. Mauriac), although spokesmen of various nationalities, including priests (especially from Poland) reported to him about everything.

The victims of the war in our country are evident in our own burdensome recollections of the war itself, the kind of war we had here, which with all the

rest was interethnic and religious. (The settlement of accounts among nationalities and religions and within each of them separately accounted for an immense number of the dead, more than we are willing to admit to ourselves, much less to the world.) Every church gave a part of its past to that tragic conflict, rarely the better part of that past: not a single one was on the side of the antifascist movement led by the communists, precisely because they were leading it, although that was not the only reason. There were individual believers and here and there a religious dignitary. Their number differed from one nationality to another, from one religion to another.

The Catholic Church in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, much as it did in certain other European countries with special ethnic situations (for example, Hungary, Slovakia, the western Ukraine, Brittany and Ireland), paid tribute to narrowly conceived patriotism and excessive devotion to the Vatican. The Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac, who had been a Salonica volunteer, bowed down before the "divine origin of the Independent State of Croatia" and in spite of certain reserves concerning the Ustasha atrocities (expressed with considerable restraint), he collaborated loyally with the fascist regime. A sizable portion of the clergy followed in his footsteps. He was not followed on that road by all the believers, in particular not those from regions which by tradition were inclined to South Slav unity, such as Istria, the coast (Croatian and Slovenian) and parts of Dalmatia under Italian occupation, nor by individual priests, among whom was the outstanding figure of Monsigneur Svetozar Rittig, a member of the AVNOJ and the first Partizan commissioner for religious affairs in the ZAVNOH [Regional Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia].

In Slovenia, whose national existence fascism denied almost entirely, Catholicism split apart. A portion of the patriotic clergy and religious intellectuals, especially those who had kept pace with progressive Catholic tendencies in Europe, entered the Liberation Front from the very outset and became involved in the Slovenian and Yugoslav Partizan movement. The Executive Committee of the Liberation Front of Slovenia adopted a decision as early as 1942 to install religious advisers in Partizan units themselves. (This practice spread somewhat later in other regions as well, not with the same success, and perhaps not everywhere with equal support.) Yet on the other hand the traditional Slovenian clerical right, ecclesiastical and secular, entered the ranks of the profascist White Guards: in 1941 Bishop of Ljubljana Gregorij Rozman recommended to the Vatican the neighboring Ustasha state as exemplarily Catholic and proclaimed "war against godless communism not a political, but a religious mission." During the war the White Guards sang the song: "Death to the Partizans in the name of Christ's wounds."

#### How the Clergy Was Split

The contradictions of Catholicism on our soil are extremely dramatic: the famous Carthusian monastery in Pleterje was an underground Partizan hospital; the one in Siroki Brijeg (in front of which a large number of Partizans from neighboring Catholic regions, from Dalmatia and the Neretva Valley, fell at the very end of the war) the Germans and Ustashi turned into a fortress for themselves. These two examples are symbolic to a certain degree.



Orthodoxy also had a difficult destiny and experienced temptations toward division within itself. The Serbian Patriarch Gavrilko Dozic (Montenegrin by origin) raised his voice against the occupier and was interned together with a small number of his closest collaborators. The clergy scattered in several directions: some joined the Chetniks, sometimes following their most radical commitments (attaining even high ranks in the Chetnik detachments, like the notorious Vojvoda Momcilo Djuric); some remained more or less loyal to the Ljotic-Nedic collaboration, and several high officials were with the royal government in exile. There were more Orthodox priests in the Partisans from regions outside Serbia proper than from within it. There were more of them than of priests from other states: their people suffered the most in those regions. In late 1942 the First Assembly of Orthodox Priests in the National Liberation Struggle was held in Srpska Jasenica.

The Macedonian church, whose high officials had behaved fairly cautiously, was formally Serbian. That did not hinder a part of the clergy from also being loyal to the Bulgarian occupation.

The top leadership of the Islamic ulema, just like the Catholic Church, went over to the side of Pavelic's NDH [Independent State of Croatia]. One part of it, with a naivete that can only be explained by fanaticism, expected help from Hitler and his follower the mufti of Jerusalem Es Seid Muhamed Emin El Husein in achieving a great Islamic community that would extend from the Balkans to Afghanistan, between western Africa and central Asia, from Maghrib all the way to Mesrek. Intolerance toward Orthodoxy, and vice versa, intolerance on the part of some of the Christians, especially the Orthodox, toward Islam, grew up in some places from deep roots: an appeal was made to remember the ancient conflicts among the South Slav states, especially the Serbian state, with the Ottomans, using the language of myth and visions of the past.

The religious intelligentsia--in all faiths--followed the paths, sometimes blindly, chosen by the churches and the clergy. The exceptions are not numerous. Within culture itself it is worth making particular mention of the example of the Slovenian poet Edvard Kocbek, who fought with the Partisans from 1941, was vice president of the Liberation Front and was an AVNOJ member in both the first and second sessions. He was the only one on the Christian side who was bold enough to utter grave condemnations of the church hierarchy without at the same time denying his own belief or faith as a Christian: "Our guilt is horrible, and I do not see redemption for it in this horror full of death.... We have augmented the comfortable peace of the hierarchical church to the point of absurdity and the difficulty of those Christians within it who are torn between the living Christian faith and the inevitable requirements of the historical world." A witness in the Slovenian mission to Jajce in 1943 to attend the 2d Session of AVNOJ recorded: "It is not just the Serbs and Croats who are butchering one another, but also the Catholics and Orthodox, both of them Christians.... We are still far from Christianity, for the moment the most effective ladder to humanism here is Marxism, the way the Partisans are installing it in these regions of ancient tragedy." At the second session itself he declared to all: "Firmly believing in the Gospel, we are happy that today we and the communists are resolving all the political, social and moral issues of humanity."

That was how Edvard Kocbek saw Christianity's relationship to Marxism and communism at that hour. That is why he fell out of favor with the official church, and a few years after the war he was compelled in the name of a narrow conception of Marxism or communism to remain silent for long years after publication of the book from which the first of the quotes above was taken.

#### The Case of Cardinal Stepinac

After the war Catholicism offered the most resistance to the new government (with appreciable differences in Croatia and Slovenia). The representatives of the Orthodox and Islamic religious communities found it easier to reach agreement with the government and adapted. Differences in behavior among the heads of the religions and institutions during the war and immediately thereafter also demanded differing political attitudes toward them. Usually that did not suit the government itself, its desire to show itself equal toward everyone, nor to the generalizing language which was used. In the postwar years, because of everything that had happened previously, the demonstration of religion on various occasions was cast under suspicion (sometimes altogether without reason) as religious or ethnic exclusiveness, for clericalism or nationalism, or for support to the former servants of the occupier or to the anticommunist campaign in the world. In the period of the Cold War the conflict with the Catholic Church in Croatia hardly left an impression: the case of Cardinal Stepinac and its consequences left behind deep traces. We will have more to say about that.

The attitude toward religions and toward believers can obviously not be separated from the attitude of Christianity (and also of Islam) toward socialism or Marxism. The church in the world long fostered mistrust of the very idea of social progress: that was the main reason for its conflict with the Enlightenment, especially in the 18th century in western Europe. (In our country the ideas of the Enlightenment were advocated and passed on with the characteristic lag by people in the ranks of the clergy, but not as advocates of the official attitudes of the church.) Christian doctrine looked upon human labor as something to be borne in this world and making it possible for the soul to be saved in the other world; the worker's subordination was blessed as a virtue. Alliances between a church hierarchy and a government of the conservative and retrograde type are well known in old and recent history. By breaking down the outdated systems and overthrowing the classes which ruled in them the revolutions (beginning in 1789) settled accounts with the church as an integral part of those systems and as an ally of the class enemy. The church cast anathema on the instigators of the revolutions, excommunicated their supporters, up until quite recently. The church leaders preached militant anticommunism (the papal encyclicals from the first half of our century are instructive in this regard). Revolutionaries and Marxists regarded believers who were guided by those positions as harmful or hostile and regarded religion itself as "alienation" and "an opiate of the people."

Attitudes toward the church as an institution were based on those experiences. The radical secularism of the Left turned more and more into an antireligious position even in the last century, sometimes quite openly and harshly. The characteristic pamphleteering carried on by the leftwing journalists did not

distinguish clericalists from ordinary believers nor Christianity from the church itself. (Even Krleza's pages of this kind do not belong among the best which he wrote.) In Stalin's famous 1936 Constitution, whose provisions inspired the constitutions of the other allied countries after the war, including our own for a time, Article 124 stated that "the freedom to hold religious services is recognized" just as much as the "freedom of antireligious propaganda." Antireligious propaganda was conducted in the "first country of socialism" in ways which annihilated every religious freedom: more than propaganda was involved.

In spite of everything there were no examples of that kind of extremism in our country. "Antireligious propaganda" was not mentioned in the constitution either of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia or of the SFRY. The LCY Program speaks about the religious rights of citizens, emphasizing that "membership in the LCY does not allow any sort of religious belief." Establishment of broader relations with various countries in the world and assumption of certain obligations to the world public, both legal and otherwise, contributed along with everything else to correct and to some extent harmonize the attitudes toward the churches in our country.

Certain journalists and interpreters of Marxist orientation, in the world and in our own country, have freed themselves of the exclusiveness which was characteristic of the previous period, realizing that religion cannot be reduced only to an "opiate of the people," that Marx or Lenin, who used that phrase, were thinking of the politicized clerical practice of their time and their society, the very exclusive Catholicism and the almost rigid Protestantism at the service of the privileged classes of western Europe, and the backward Orthodox Church as a pillar of the tyranny of the tsars in Russia. More recent interpretations recall that Marx, who called upon the members of the Communist League in 1952 to break with religion, opposed Bakunin's demand in the seventies that atheism be proclaimed mandatory in the Internationale, that he was ironic about the Blanquists who intended to carry out atheization of the working class movement by "order of the mufti," criticized the Young Hegelians for "vaunting the slogan of atheism," instructing them to "criticize religion as a part of the criticism of political relations"; that Engels also similarly reproached Duehring for his "witch-hunt against religion," warning that "it is not possible to settle accounts with religion, which for 1,800 years has ruled a major portion of civilized humanity by proclaiming it nonsense created by deceivers." Finally, Marx's, Engels' or Lenin's opinions on religion are not and ought not to be the same thing as religious freedoms. In the ranks of the LCY and especially outside it views have emerged to the effect that progressive believers can be members of that organization, but the resistance to such attitudes won out.

#### Without Prejudices Toward Marxism

On the religious side as well, above all the Christian side, people began to approach Marxism with fewer prejudices, differently from the church hierarchy itself: "Marxism removes the masks from idols and exposes that Christianity which has not realized its truth," Nikolay Berdyayev wrote back in 1935, when he was in exile: "The religion of socialism is a lie and a deception from the

Christian viewpoint, but socialism is not the only religion of socialism nor is it only utopia: it is also a reality intended for our time." Similar positions were taken before and after World War II by progressive Christian circles in western Europe, especially in France: "The essence of Christianity is readier for open dialogue with present-day materialisms than with idealistic sophistry and withdrawal," wrote Emmanuel Mounier, editor of L'ESPRIT, the journal of the personalist Christians, who were close to socialism. Such ideas found response in spirits which could not be satisfied with the old and compromised clericalism. During the sixties the Vatican Council was to take some of them and bring them up-to-date within the bosom of the church itself.

In the world at large the question was put of the dialogue between Christians and Marxists. Certain Christians in our country showed an interest and readiness for such a dialogue, as indeed did some of the Marxists. Various conceptions, positions and burdens of the past stood in the way at the very outset: everything that had driven the church and progressive or revolutionary movements in the world and in our country further from one another and driven Christianity away from Marxism (i.e., socialism, especially communism). What actually began was a discussion about dialogue, rather than the dialogue itself.

By all appearances less benefit can be expected from a dialogue between Marxism and Christianity (and this also applies to Islam and religion in general) than from the dialogue between Marxists and Christians themselves, i.e., from different people who lived together, those who respect or accept differences. Neither Marxism nor Christianity see Marxism and Christianity as categories of the same order. The ideas, doctrines or dogma on which they are based do not allow adaptation of one to the other and they cannot coincide with one another. The theoretical or theological questions as a rule remain outside the dialogue. It is worthwhile to establish at the very outset what cannot be departed from and what should not be expected, taking into account the greater or lesser antagonism or discrepancy between the original ideas (declarations) and institutionalized practice, ideology and its application, the legacy and the past, the past and history.

Individual Marxists or interpreters of Marxism have had a habit of compiling collections (sometimes much like catechisms) consisting of quotations from the works of Marx (and Engels or Lenin) devoted to religion. Yet the author of "Capital" did not leave behind him a theory of religion, any more than of the nationality or the state. He assumed that the "religious reflection of real life could disappear only when the relations of practical and everyday life showed people transparently reasonable relations among them and toward nature." Humanity is obviously still very far from "transparently reasonable relations": large numbers of Christians, Muslims and other believers in various parts of the world kneel, pray and fall prostrate before the deity and hate or attack other religions and nationalities taking oaths in his name.

One of the basic prerequisites of a dialogue is verifying the meanings of the actual concepts and terms which we use: there is an immense difference between the atheistic (a personal attitude of the subjective "drama of atheization," as it is called by one of our researchers) and atheism as an ideology,

which has greater or lesser support of the government; it is also possible to distinguish not only the church from religion, which often is forced upon believers themselves by their conscience or responsibility, but also religion (church doctrine, dogma and catechism) from personalized faith, from confession in the original sense of the word. The opportunities for dialogue are not equal at each of these levels.

The very names Marxist, Christian, believer, atheist, and so on are not precise or reliable enough. Marxists are divided into orthodox and deviant, right and left, official and critical, Stalinist and revisionist, and so on. Who after all can speak today in the name of Marx's entire legacy? What of that legacy is still valid and stimulating for the dialogue we are talking about?

There obviously is no all-inclusive or single pattern of the Christian, the Muslim or of the believer in general: there is a large gap between comfortable ordinariness and clerical fanaticism (fundamentalism). At one of the recent meetings devoted to the dialogue between Marxists and Christians (we should mention by the way that such meetings are being held in our country more and more frequently) the Bishop of Maribor V. Grmic made an intelligent observation: "We might say that original Christianity was closer to Marxism than to Christian dogmatism or integralism ... that original Marxism is closer to Christianity than to Marxist dogmatism and sectarianism."

Canossa is a symbol of an era that is behind us.

7045

CSO: 2800/8

## DANGERS OF IMF, MIDDLE CLASS STRESSED AT VIS MEETING

[Editorial Report] This year from 27 to 29 September the so-called "Days of Ante Fiamengo," the annual sociology meeting held in Komiza on the Island of Vis, was organized by the Marxist Center in Split and the "Vladimir Bakaric" center for ideological-theoretical work of the Croatian LC Central Committee, thus clearly distancing itself from last year's gathering of liberal sociologists and philosophers (including Vojislav Sesalj, Belgrade "Praxis" professors, and others) which, among other things, drafted a petition asking amnesty for arrested Moslems. This year there were, according to DANAS (Zagreb, 9 October 1984, p 19) almost no participants from the three Croatian societies for sociology, political science, and philosophy who allegedly refused to attend. Most of the participants' names can be found on the editorial board and staff of NASE TEME, the monthly journal of the "Vladimir Bakaric" center for ideological-theoretical work.

A report in the 6-7 October issue of BORBA (Belgrade, pp 4-5) says that the gulf between the Marxist centers which organized the meeting and the three scientific societies was made clear at the outset when Dr Ivo Peric, director of the Marxist Center in Split, said that Fiamengo (revolutionary arrested in 1940, member of the Partisans, later sociologist and Zagreb professor who was born in Komiza) "was different from some 'modern' sociologists who believe that distancing themselves from the achievements of the socialist revolution in our country, from the institutions and processes in which our modern Yugoslav society is manifested, is a precondition for the dignity of sociologists and sociology as a science."

This year's meeting, BORBA said, in devoting itself to a discussion of "the class struggle and social differentiation in Yugoslav society," dealt more with diagnosing the present situation than with seeking real solutions. Dr Mihailo Popovic said that the effects of the economic crisis have sharpened class differences to such a degree that the fall in the living standard, especially the impoverishment of the social strata (classes) "and the very serious disruption in economic life as a whole can stimulate a class involution [involucija] of social inequalities so that out of the temporary class strata [at present] the old class conflicts with explicit antagonistic traits are again arising,...although this has not yet led to an open mass eruption of national dissatisfaction."

Dr Pero Nasakanda pointed to the dangers of the growing strength of the middle strata of society (a subject he discussed also in an article in the 4-5, April-June 1984 issue of NASE TEME), "especially in the intellectual and moral sphere--the explosion of egotistic particularist interests and suppression of socialist values. Nasakanda said members of these classes are not in the least



disturbed by the 'satellite mentality' which is being created as a result of our overindebtedness and technological dependence and they are gradually extinguishing the sense of emancipation and are creating indifference toward the benefits of our society. With the strengthening of the middle classes, the working class is entering an ever more complicated and difficult situation"...and, rather than taking the offensive, must fight to preserve its achievements.

Most attention, however, was given to the statements by Croatian economist, Dr Luka Markovic, who said "as is the case everywhere in the world, our bureaucracy and technology are a faction of the bourgeoisie, i.e., [they are] parts of the capitalist class." Rajko Vujatovic, author of the BORBA report, finds striking Markovic's persistent use of the "radical" term "Yugoslav bourgeoisie." Markovic reportedly said that after failing to achieve private enterprise, "the bourgeoisie in Yugoslavia directed its passion toward international money, i.e., the dollar and everything than can be converted into dollars." Asserting that the Yugoslav bourgeoisie has more dollars in its account than its country owes and "that this is always the case when one is selling one's own country," Markovic said that no one at this moment knows or can know exactly how many dollars our bourgeoisie has bought up and hidden away in secret bank accounts, etc.

"Incapable of productive employment, the Yugoslav bourgeoisie exported part of the working class to Western Europe to earn dollars for it there"; it has earned dollars through tourism, and created an import-dependent industry into which were built numerous import contracts. This bourgeoisie "has broken the...construction of socialism" by burdening its country, i.e., the working class, with a huge debt.

Vujatovic says that Markovic makes the "unbelievable and unacceptable assertion," that the Yugoslav stabilization program is a "program of class terror that hundreds of thousands of [members of the] Yugoslav bourgeoisie are holding over their working class, and in fact it [this terror] is nothing more than the 'letter of IMF intentions.'"

Our bourgeoisie, like every other, Markovic continued, also has its political and literary representatives, the generation of politicians of limited vision who see everything evil in what has been written about Goli Otok, for whom all politics is reduced to nationalism, and who believe "that the loss of independence is the only reliable road toward regaining independence."

Stipe Suvar, less pessimistic than Markovic, said that the working class in present Yugoslav society is dynamic, open, and a class in change; that it is characterized by both development and dissolution, that it acts both as a capitalist class and as a class that unites labor and management. Suvar said he did not agree with Markovic that socialism as a world process has still not gotten anywhere and that bourgeois factions are in power.

The BORBA article also reported that much was said at the meeting about Cedo Grbic's recent book "Socialism and Labor With Private Means" which advocates more private ownership. "The thesis of this book was judged to be alien and essentially unacceptable for us. Ivica Tormas said it is filled with ideological attacks against the essence of socialism. A number of other participants made similar comments, pointing out that the book has created great ideological confusion and for this reason did not pass unnoticed by the public." (BORBA ran numerous articles from a roundtable discussion it conducted on the book a few months ago.)

Vujatovic noted that "without regard to existing social tendencies," the opinion prevailed at the meeting that, in Suvar's words, "we must not underestimate the strength of these private-entrepreneurial tendencies in Yugoslav society..." we must not fail to be conscious of the "dangers that they are eroding social ownership and increasing social differentiation on a capitalist basis independent of labor and labor's contribution."

Finally, the 5 October 1984 issue of the trade union federation weekly RAD (Belgrade, page 2), in sharp criticism of the conference and of Suvar, quotes Suvar's closing words: "It has been shown that it is possible to organize a high-quality meeting without the help of the three academic societies in Croatia--the sociology, philosophy, and political science societies--and to rebut the unbelievers." To this RAD replies with unusual sarcasm: "We do not know who these unbelievers are nor do we understand the need to hold scientific meetings without... or against scientific societies. [But] we do not doubt it: If self-management decisions are issued without self-managers, then it is entirely possible to organize scientific meetings without scientific societies, and perhaps even without scientists. It is difficult to believe that the bypassing of these three societies and describing this as a positive fact is their [the organizers'] kind of 'special education.' But it is difficult to believe that these societies are so incompetent, ill-tempered, or critical that they should be written off. Because if it is possible to organize a 'quality meeting' without scientific societies then these societies, on the same principle, will also prove how they can do without Stipe Suvar or Stipe Oreskovic."

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### BRIEFS

MONTENEGRIN WORK STOPPAGES--At the end of July there was an unpublicized 2-day work stoppage at the steel plant in the ironworks at Niksic. Now we have learned that workers in the second brigade upon receiving the accounts for June refused to work; the workers in the third and fourth brigades followed their example. At the meeting [which followed] they said that personal incomes were falling, working conditions were worsening, and they asked about the points given for [poor] working conditions and about increasing length of service benefits. They said also that they can hardly make ends meet with their present earnings, that the steel plant has never been in a worse position, and that it is difficult to find housing. In the first half of this year Montenegro has had 4 work stoppages lasting a total of 89 hours and involving 255 workers. During the same period Croatia has had 37 work stoppages, averaging 6 hours in length, involving 2,800 workers, or 6 percent more than last year, and considerably less than one would expect, considering conditions. [Excerpt] [Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 2 Oct 84 p 40]

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